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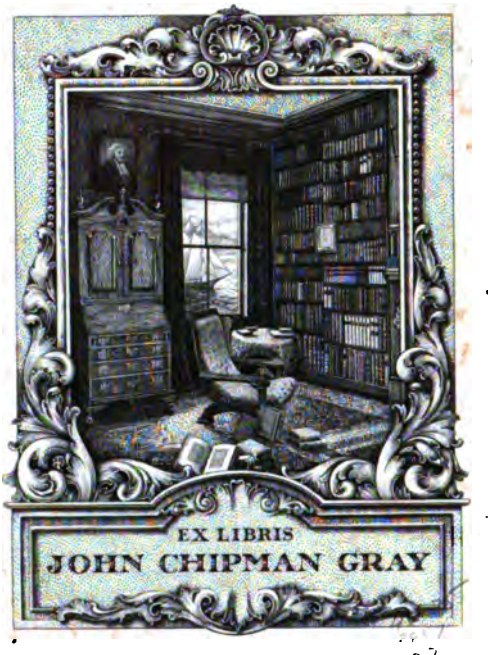

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THE

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MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO.

SECTION VI.

A. Urb. 696. Cic. 50. Coss.—P. Corn. Lent. Spinther. Q. Cæc. Metel. Nepos.]

CICERO's return was what he himself truly calls it, *the beginning of a new life* to him *, which was to be governed by new maxims, and a new kind of policy, yet so as not to forfeit his old character. He had been made to feel in what hands the weight of power lay, and what little dependence was to be placed on the help and support of his aristocratical friends: Pompey had served him on this important occasion very sincerely, and with the concurrence also of Cæsar, so as to make it a point of gratitude, as well as prudence, to be more observant of them than he had hitherto been:

* Alterius vitæ quoddam initium ordimur. [ad Att. 4. 1.] In another place, he calls his restoration to his former dignity, παλιγγενεσίαν, [ad. Att. 6. 6.] or a new birth; a word borrowed probably from the Pythagorean school, and applied afterwards by the sacred writers to the renovation of our nature by baptism, as well as our restoration to life after death in the general resurrection. Matt. xix. 29. Tit. iii. 5.

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The senate, on the other hand, with the magistrates, and the honest of all ranks, were zealous in his cause; and the consul Lentulus, above all, seemed to make it the sole end and glory of his administration *. This uncommon consent of opposite parties, in promoting his restoration, drew upon him a variety of obligations, which must needs often clash and interfere with each other, and which it was his part still to manage so, as to make them consistent with his honour, his safety, his private, and his public duty: these were to be the springs and motives of his new life, the hinges on which his future conduct was to turn; and to do justice severally to them all, and assign to each its proper weight and measure of influence, required his utmost skill and address †.

The day after his arrival, on the fifth of September, the consuls summoned the senate, to give him an opportunity of paying his thanks to them in public for their late services; where, after a general profession of his obligations to them all, he made his particular acknowledgments to each magistrate by name; to the consuls; the tribunes; the prætors: He addressed himself to the tribunes, before the prætors, not for the the dignity of their office, for in that they were infe-

* Hoc specimen virtutis, hoc indicium animi, hoc lumen consulatus sui fore putavit, si me mihi, si meis, si reipub. reddidisset.—Post. red. in Sen. 4.

† Sed quia sæpe concurrit, propter aliquorum de me meritorum inter ipsos contentiones, ut eodem tempore in omnes verear ne vix possim gratus videri. Sed ego hoc meis ponderibus examinabo, non solum quid cuique debeam, sed etiam quid cujusque intersit, et quid a me cujusque tempus poscat. Pro Plancio. 32.

A. Urb. 696. Cic. 50. Coss.—P. Corn. Lent. Spinther. Q. Cæc. Metel. Nepos.

tior, but for their greater authority in making laws; and, consequently, their greater merit in carrying his law into effect. The number of his private friends was too great to make it possible for him to enumerate or thank them all; so that he confined himself to the magistrates, with exception only to Pompey *, whom, for the eminence of his character, though at present only a private man, he took care to distinguish by a personal address and compliment. But, as Lentulus was the first in office, and had served him with the greatest affection, so he gives him the first share of his praise; and, in the overflowing of his gratitude, stiles him, the parent and the god of his life and fortunes †. The next day he paid his thanks likewise to the people, in a speech from the rostra; where he dwelt chiefly on the same topics which he had used in the senate, celebrating the particular merits and services of his principal friends, especially of Pompey: whom he declares to be "the greatest man for virtue, wisdom, glory, who was then living, or had lived, or e-

* Cum perpaucis nominatim gratias egissem, quod omnes enumerari nullo modo possent, tacitus autem esset quenquam præteriri. Ib. 30.

Hodierno autem die nominatim a me magistratibus statui gratias esse agendas, et de privatis uni, qui pro salute mea municipia, coloniasque adiisset. Post red. in Sen. 12.

† Princeps P. Lentulus, parens ac Deus nostræ vitæ, fortunæ, &c. Ibid. 4. It was a kind of maxim among the ancients, that, "to do good to a mortal, was to be a god to a mortal:"—*Deus est mortali, juvare mortalem.* [Plin. Hist. 2. 7.] Thus Cicero, as he calls Lentulus here his *god*, so, on other occasions, gives the same appellation to Plato: "Deus ille noster Plato."—[Ad Att. 4. 16.]—to express the highest sense of the benefits received from them.

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" ver would live; and that he owed more to him, on " this occasion, than it was even lawful almost for one " man to owe to another *."

Both these speeches are still extant, and a passage or two from each will illustrate the temper and disposition in which he returned: in speaking to the senate, after a particular recital of the services of his friends, he adds: " as I have a pleasure in enumerating these, " so I willingly pass over in silence what others wick- " edly acted against me: it is not my present busi- " ness to remember injuries; which, if it were in my " power to revenge, I should chuse to forget; my life " shall be applied to other purposes; to repay the " good offices of those who have deserved it of me; " to hold fast the friendships which have been tried as " it were in the fire; to wage war with declared ene- " mies; to pardon my timorous, nor yet expose my " treacherous friends; and to balance the misery of " exile by the dignity of my return †." To the peo- " ple he observes; " that there were four sorts of e- " nemies, who concurred to oppress him: the first, " who, out of hatred to the republic, were mortal ene- " mies to him for having saved it: the second, who, " under a false pretence of friendship, infamously be- " trayed him: the third, who, through their inability " to obtain what he had acquired, were envious of his

* Cn Pompeius, vir omnium qui sunt, fuerunt, erunt, princeps virtute, sapientia, ac gloria. Huic ego homini, Quirites, tantum debeo, quantum hominem homini debere vix fas est. Post red. ad Quir. 7.

† Post red. in Sen. 9.

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"dignity: the fourth, who, though by office they "ought to have been the guardians of the republic, "bartered away his safety, the peace of the city, and "the dignity of the empire, which were committed to "their trust. I will take my revenge," says he, "on "each of them, agreeably to the different manner of "their provocation; on the bad citizens, by defending "the republic strenuously; on my perfidious friends, "by never trusting them again; on the envious, by "continuing my steady pursuit of virtue and glory; "on those merchants of provinces, by calling them "home to give an account of their administration: "but I am more solicitous how to acquit myself of my "obligations to you, for your great services, than to "resent the injuries and cruelties of my enemies: for "it is much easier to revenge an injury than to repay "a kindness, and much less trouble to get the better "of bad men than to equal the good *."

This affair being happily over, the senate had leisure again to attend to public business; and there was now a case before them of a very urgent nature, which required a present remedy; *an unusual scarcity of corn and provisions* in the city, which had been greatly encreased by the late concourse of people from all parts of Italy, on Cicero's account, and was now felt very severely by the poorer citizens: They had born it with much patience while Cicero's return was in agitation; comforting themselves with a notion, that if he was once restored, plenty would be restored with

* Post red. ad Quir. 9.

A. Urb. 695. Cic. 49. Cos.—P. Corn. Lent. Spinther. Q. Cæc. Metel. Nepos.

him; but finding the one at last effected without the other, they began to grow clamorous, and unable to endure their hunger any longer.

Clodius could not slip so fair an opportunity of exciting some new disturbance, and creating fresh trouble to Cicero, by charging the calamity to his score: for this end he employed a number of young fellows to run all night about the streets, making a lamentable outcry for bread; and calling upon Cicero to relieve them from the famine to which he had reduced them; as if he had got some hidden store or magazine of corn, secreted from common use *. He sent his mob also to the theatre, in which the prætor Cæcilius, Cicero's particular friend, was exhibiting the Apollinarian shews, where they raised such a terror that they drove the whole company out of it: then, in the same tumultuous manner, they marched to the temple of Concord, whither Metellus had summoned the senate; but happening to meet with Metellus in the way, they presently attacked him with vollies of stones; with some of which they wounded even the consul himself, who, for the greater security, immediately adjourned the senate into the Capitol. They were led on by two desperate ruffians, their usual commanders, M. Lollius and M. Sergius; the first of whom had in

* Qui facultate oblata, ad imperitorum animos incitandos, renovaturum te illa funesta latrocinia ob annonæ causam putavisti. Pro dom. 5.

Quid? puerorum illa concursatio nocturna? num a te ipso instituta me frumentum flagitabant? Quasi vero ego aut rei frumentariæ præfuissem, aut compressum aliquod frumentum tenerem. Ib. 6.

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Clodius's tribunate undertaken the task of killing Pompey; the second had been captain of the guard to Catiline, and was probably of his family *: but Clodius, encouraged by this hopeful beginning, put himself at their head in person, and pursued the senate into the Capitol, in order to disturb their debates, and prevent their providing any relief for the present evil; and above all, to excite the meaner sort to some violence against Cicero. But he soon found, to his great disappointment, that Cicero was too strong in the affections of the city to be hurt again so soon: for the people themselves saw through his design, and were so provoked at it, that they turned universally against him, and drove him out of the field with all his mercenaries; when perceiving that Cicero was not present in the senate, they called out upon him by name with one voice, and would not be quieted till he came in person to undertake their cause, and propose some expedient for their relief. He had kept his house all that day, and resolved to do so, till he saw the issue of the tumult; but when he understood that Clodius was repulsed, and that his presence was universally re-

* Cum homines ad theatrum primo, deinde ad senatum concurrissent impulsu Clodii. Ad Att. 4. 1.

Concursus est ad templum Concordiæ factus, senatum illud vocante Metello—qui sunt homines a Q. Metello, in senatu palam nominati, a quibus ille se lapidibus appetitum, etiam percussum esse dixit.—Quis est iste Lollius? Qui te tribuno pleb.—Cn. Pompeium interficiendum depoposcit.—Quis est Sergius? armiger Catilinæ, stipator tui corporis, signifer seditionis—his atque hujusmodi ducibus, cum tu in annonæ caritate in consules, in senatum—repentinos impetus comparares.—Pro dom. 5.

A. Urb. 696. Cic. 50. Coss.—P. Corn. Lent. Spinther. Q. Cæc. Metel. Nepos.

quired by the consuls, the senate, and the whole people: he came to the senate-house, in the midst of their debates, and being presently asked his opinion, proposed, that Pompey should be entreated to undertake the province of restoring plenty to the city; and, to enable him to execute it with effect, should be invested with an absolute power over all the public stores and corn-rents of the empire through all the provinces: the motion was readily accepted, and a vote immediately passed, that a law should be prepared for that purpose, and offered to the people *. All the consular senators were absent, except Messala and Afranius: they pretended to be afraid of the mob; but the real cause was their unwillingness to concur in granting this commission to Pompey. The consuls carried the decree with them into the Rostra, and read it publicly to the people; who, on the mention of Cicero's name, in which it was drawn, gave an universal shout of applause; upon which, at the desire of all the magistrates, Cicero made a speech to them

* Ego vero domi me tenui, quamdiu turbulentum tempus fuit—cum servos tuos ad rapinam, ad bonorum cædem paratos—armatos etiam in Capitolium tecum venisse constabat—scio me domi mansisse—posteaquam mihi nunciatum est, populum Romanum in Capitolium—convenisse—ministros autem scelerum tuorum perterritos, partim amissis gladiis, partim ereptis diffugisse; veni non solum sine ullis copiis, ac manu, verum etiam cum paucis amicis.—Ib. 3.

Ego denique—a populo Romano universo, qui tum in Capitolium convenerat, cum illo die minus valerem, nominatim in senatum vocabar. Veni exspectatus; multis jam sententiis dictis, rogatus sum sententiam; dixi reipub. saluberrimam, mihi necessariam. Ib. 7.

Factum est S. C. in meam sententiam, ut cum Pompeio ageretur, ut eam rem susciperet, lexque ferretur. Ad Att. 4. 1.

A. Urb. 696. Cic. 50. Coss.—P. Corn. Lent. Spinther. Q. Cæc. Metel. Nepos.

setting forth the reasons and necessity of the decree, and giving them the comfort of a speedy relief, from the vigilance and authority of Pompey *. The absence however of the consular senators gave a handle to reflect upon the act, as not free and valid, but extorted by fear, and without the intervention of the principal members; but the very next day, in a fuller house, when all those senators were present, and a motion was made to revoke the decree, it was unanimously rejected ‡; and the consuls were ordered to draw up a law conformable to it, by which the whole administration of the corn and provisions of the republic was to be granted to Pompey for five years, with a power of chusing fifteen lieutenants to assist him in it.

This furnished Clodius with fresh matter of abuse upon Cicero: he charged him "with ingratitude, and "the desertion of the senate, which had always been "firm to him, in order to pay his court to a man who "had betrayed him: and that he was so silly as not "to know his own strength and credit in the city, and "how able he was to maintain his authority without

* Cum abessent consulares, quod tuto se negarent posse sententiam dicere, prætor Messalam et Afranium. Ibid.

Quo S. C. recitato, cum continuo more hoc insulso et novo plausum, meo nomine recitando dedisset, habui concionem.—Ibid.

‡ At enim liberum senatus judicium propter metum non fuit. Pro dom. 4.

Postridie senatus frequens, et omnes consulares nihil Pompeio postulati negarunt. Ad Att. 4. 1.

Cum omnes adessent, cœptum est referri de inducendo S. C.; ab universo senatu reclamatum est. Pro dom. 4.

A. Urb. 696. Cic. 50. Cos.—P. Corn. Lent. Spinther. Q. Cæc. Metel. Nepos.

"the help of Pompey" *. But Cicero defended himself by saying, "that they must not expect to play "the same game upon him now that he was restored, "with which he had ruined him before, by raising "jealousies between him and Pompey: that he had "smarted for it too severely already, to be caught a-"gain in the same trap; that, in decreeing this com-"mission to Pompey, he had discharged both his pri-"vate obligations to a friend, and his public duty to "the senate; that those who grudged all extraordina-"ry power to Pompey, must grudge the victories, the "triumphs, the accession of dominion and revenue, "which their former grants of this sort had procured "to the empire; that the success of those shewed, "what fruit they were to expect from this" †.

But what authority soever this law conferred on Pompey, his creatures were not yet satisfied with it; so that Messius, one of the tribunes, proposed another, to give him the additional power of raising what money, fleets, and armies he thought fit; with a greater command through all the provinces, than their pro-

* Tunc es ille, inquit, quo senatus carere non potuit?—quo restituto, senatus auctoritatem restitutam putabamus? quam primum adveniens prodidisti. Ib 2.

Nescit quantum auctoritate valeat, quas res gesserit, qua dignitate sit restitutus. Cur ornat eum a quo desertus est? Ib. 11.

† Desinant homines iisdem machinis sperare me restitutum posse labefactari, quibus antea stantem perculerunt—data merces est erroris mei magna, ut me non solum pigeat stultitiæ meæ, sed etiam pudeat. Ib. 11.

Cn. Pompeio—maxima terra marique bella extra ordinem esse commissa: quarum rerum si quem pœniteat, eum victoriæ populi Romani necesse est pœnitere. Ib. 8.

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per governors had in each. Cicero's law seemed modest in comparison of Messius's: Pompey pretended to be content with the first, whilst all his dependents were pushing for the last; they expected that Cicero would come over to them; but he continued silent, nor would stir a step farther; for his affairs were still in such a state, as obliged him to act with caution, and to manage both the senate and the men of power: the conclusion was, that Cicero's law was received by all parties, and Pompey named him for his first lieutenant, declaring that he should consider him as a second self, and act nothing without his advice *. Cicero accepted the employment; on condition that he might be at liberty to use or resign it at pleasure, as he found it convenient to his affairs †: but he soon after quitted it to his brother, and chose to continue in the city; where he had the pleasure to see the end of his law effectually answered: for the credit of Pompey's name immediately reduced the price of victuals in the markets; and his vigour and diligence in prosecuting the affair soon established a general plenty.

* Legem consules conscripserunt—alteram Messius, qua omnia pecunias dat potestatem, et adjungit classem et exercitum, et majus imperium in provinciis, quam sit eorum, qui eas obtinent. Illa nostra lex consularis nunc modesta videtur, hæc Messii non ferenda. Pompeius illam velle se dicit; familiares hanc. Consulares duce Favonio fremunt, nos tacemus; et ego magis quod de domo nostra pihil adhuc pontifices responderunt.—

Ille legatos quindecim cum postularet, me principem nominavit et ad omnia mo alterum se fore dixit.—Ad Att. 4. 1

† Ego me a Pompeio legari ita sum passus, ut nulla re impediret, quod ne, et vellem, mihi esset integrum.—Ib. 2.

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Cicero was restored to his former dignity, but not to his former fortunes; nor was any satisfaction yet made to him for the ruin of his houses and estates: a full restitution indeed had been decreed, but was reserved to his return, which came now before the senate, to be considered and settled by public authority, where it met still with great obstruction. The chief difficulty was about his Palatine house, which he valued above all the rest, and which Clodius, for that reason, had contrived to alienate, as he hoped, irretrievably, by demolishing the fabric, and dedicating a temple upon the area to the goddess Liberty: where, to make his work the more complete, he pulled down also the adjoining portico of Catullus, that he might build it up anew, of the same order with his temple; and, by blending the public with private property, and consecrating the whole to religion, might make it impossible to separate or restore any part to Cicero, since a consecration, legally performed, made the thing consecrated unapplicable ever after to any private use.

This portico was built, as has been said, on the spot where Fulvius Flaccus formerly lived, whose house was publicly demolished, for the treason of its master; and it was Clodius's design to join Cicero's to it, under the same denomination, as the perpetual memorial of a disgrace and punishment inflicted by the people *. When he had finished the portico, therefore,

* Ut domus M. Tullii Ciceronis cum domo Fulvii Flacci ad memoriam pœnæ publice constitutæ conjuncta esse videatur. Pro dom. 38.

A. Urb. 696. Cic. 50. Coss.—P. Corn. Lent. Spinther. Q. Cæc. Metel. Nepos.

and annexed his temple to it, which took up but a small part, scarce a tenth of Cicero's house, he left the rest of the area void, in order to plant a grove, or walks of pleasure upon it, as had been usual in such cases; where, as it has been observed, he was prosecuting a particular interest, as well as indulging his malice in obstructing the restitution of it to Cicero.

The affair was to be determined by the college of priests, who were the judges in all cases relating to religion: for the senate could only make a provisional decree, "That if the priests discharged the ground "from the service of religion, then the consuls should "take an estimate of the damage, and make a con-"tract for rebuilding the whole, at the public charge, "so as to restore it to Cicero, in the condition in which "he left it †." The priests, therefore, of all orders were called together on the last of September, to hear this cause, which Cicero pleaded in person before them: They were men of the first dignity and families in the republic; and there never was, as Cicero tells us, so full an appearance of them in any cause, since the foundation of the city: he reckons up nineteen by name, a great part of whom were of consular rank *. His first care, before he entered into the merits of the question, was to remove the prejudices which his enemies had been labouring to instil, on

† Qui si sustulerint religionem, aream præclaram habebimus: superficiem consules ex S. C. æstimabunt.—Ad Att. 4. 1.

* Nego unquam post sacra constituta, quorum eadem est antiquitas, quæ ipsius urbis, ulla de re, ne de capite quidem virginum vestalium, tam frequens collegium judicasse. De Harusp. resp. 6, 7.

A. Urb. 696. Cic. 50. Coss.—P. Corn. Lent. Spinther. Q. Cæc. Metel. Nepos.

the account of his late conduct in favour of Pompey, by explaining the motives, and shewing the necessity of it; contriving at the same time to turn the odium on the other side, by running over the history of Clodius's tribunate, and painting all its violences in the most lively colours; but the question on which the cause singly turned, was about the efficacy of the pretended consecration of the house, and the dedication of the temple: to shew the nullity, therefore, of this act, he endeavours to overthrow the very foundation of it, "and prove Clodius's tribunate to be originally "null and void, from the invalidity of his adoption, "on which it was entirely grounded:" he shews, "that the sole end of adoption, which the laws ac- "acknowledged, was to supply the want of children, "by borrowing them as it were from other families; "that it was an essential condition of it, that he who "adopted had no children of his own, nor was in con- "dition to have any: that the parties concerned were "obliged to appear before the priests, to signify their "consent, the cause of the adoption, the circumstan- "ces of the families interested in it, and the nature of "their religious rites; and that the priests might "judge of the whole, and see that there was no fraud "or deceit in it, nor any dishonour to any family or "person concerned: that nothing of all this had been "observed in the case of Clodius: that the adopter "was not full twenty years old, when he adopted a "senator, who was old enough to be his father: that "he had no occasion to adopt, since he had a wife "and children, and would probably have more, which

A. Urb. 696. Cic. 50. Coss.—P. Corn. Lent. Spinther. Q. Cæc. Metel. Nepos.

" he must necessarily disinherit by this adoption, if it " was real: that Clodius had no other view than, by " the pretence of an adoption, to make himself a ple- " beian and tribune, in order to overturn the state; " that the act itself, which confirmed the adoption, " was null and illegal, being transacted while Bibulus " was observing the auspices, which was contrary to " express law, and huddled over in three hours by " Cæsar, when it ought to have been published for " three market days successively, at the interval of " nine days each *: that if the adoption was irregu- " lar and illegal, as it certainly was, the tribunate " must needs be so too, which was entirely built up- " on it: but granting the tribunate, after all, to be " valid, because some eminent men would have it so, " yet the act made afterwards for his banishment could " not possibly be considered as a law, but as a privi- " lege only, made against a particular person, which " the sacred laws, and the laws of the twelve tables, " had utterly prohibited: that it was contrary to the " very constitution of the republic, to punish any ci- " tizen, either in body or goods, till he had been ac- " cused in proper form, and condemned of some crime " by competent judges: that privileges, or laws to in- " flict penalties on single persons by name, without a " legal trial, were cruel and pernicious, and nothing " better than proscriptions, and of all things not to be " endured in their city †." Then, in entering upon

* Pro dom. 13, 14, 15, 16.

† Ib. 17. in privos homines leges ferri noluerunt; id est enim privilegium: quo quid est injustius? de Legib. 3. 19.

A. Urb. 696. Cic. 50. Cos.—P. Corn. Lent. Spinther. Q. Cæc. Metel. Nepos.

the question of his house, he declares, "that the whole "effect of his restoration depended upon it; that if "it was not given back to him, but suffered to re- "main a monument of triumph to his enemy, of grief "and calamity to himself, he could not consider it as "a restoration, but a perpetual punishment: that his "house stood in the view of the whole people, and if "it must continue in its present state, he should be "forced to remove to some other place, and could "never endure to live in that city, in which he must "always see trophies erected both against himself and "the republic: the house of Sp. Melius," says he, "who affected a tyranny, was levelled; and by the "name of Æquimelium, given to the place, the peo- "ple confirmed the equity of his punishment: the "house of Sp. Cassius was overturned also for the "same cause, and a temple raised upon it to Tellus: "M. Vaccus's house was confiscated and levelled; "and, to perpetuate the memory of his treason, the "place is still called Vaccus's meadows: M. Manlius "likewise, after he had repulsed the Gauls from the "Capitol, not content with the glory of that service, "was adjudged to aim at dominion, so that his house "was demolished, where you now see the two groves "planted: must I therefore suffer that punishment, "which our ancestors inflicted as the greatest, on "wicked and traitorous citizens, that posterity may "consider me, not as the oppressor, but the author "and captain of the conspiracy *?" When he comes

* Pro dom. 37, 38.

A. Urb. 696. Cic. 50. Coss.—P. Corn. Lent. Spinther. Q. Cæc. Metel. Nepos.

to speak of the dedication itself, he observes, "that "the goddess Liberty, to which the temple was de- "dicated, was the known statue of a celebrated strum- "pet, which Appius brought from Greece, for the or- "nament of his ædileship: and, upon dropping the "thoughts of that magistracy, gave orders to his bro- "ther Clodius to be advanced to a deity *: that the "ceremony was performed without any licence or "judgment obtained from the college of priests, by "the single ministry of a young raw man, the bro- "ther-in-law of Clodius, who had been made priest "but a few days before; a mere novice in his busi- "ness, and forced into the service †: but if all had "been transacted regularly, and in due form, that it "could not possibly have any force, as being contrary "to the standing laws of the republic: for there was "an old tribunician law made by Q. Papirius, which "prohibited the consecration of houses, lands, or al- "tars, without the express command of the people; "which was not obtained, nor even pretended in the "present case ‡: that great regard had always been "paid to this law in several instances of the gravest "kind: that Q. Marcius, the censor, erected a statue "of Concord in a public part of the city, which C. "Cassius afterwards, when censor, removed into the "senate-house, and consulted the college of priests, "whether he might not dedicate the statue and the "house also itself to Concord: upon which M. Æmilius, "the high-priest, gave answer, in the name of the

* Pro dom. 43. † Ib. 45. ‡ Ib. 49.

A. Urb. 696. Cic. 50. Coss.—P. Corn. Lent. Spinther. Q. Cæc. Metel. Nepos.

" college, that unless the people had deputed him by " name, and he acted in it by their authority, they " were of opinion that he could not rightly dedicate " them *: that Licinia also, a vestal virgin, dedicated " an altar and little temple under the sacred rock; " upon which S. Julius, the prætor, by order of the " senate, consulted the college of priests; for whom " P. Scævola, the high-priest, gave answer, that what " Licinia had dedicated in a public place, without any " order of the people, could not be considered as sa- " cred: so that the senate enjoined the prætor to see " it desecrated, and to efface whatever had been in- " scribed upon it: after all this, it was to no purpose, " he tells them, to mention what he had proposed to " speak to in the last place, that the dedication was " not performed with any of the solemn words and " rites which such a function required, but by the ig- " norant young man before mentioned, without the " help of his colleagues, his books, or any to prompt " him; especially when Clodius, who directed him, " that impure enemy to all religion, who often acted " the woman among men, as well as the man among " women, huddled over the whole ceremony in a " blundering, precipitate manner, faultering and con- " founded in mind, voice, and speech, often recalling " himself, doubting, fearing, hesitating, and perform- " ing every thing quite contrary to what the sacred " books prescribed: nor is it strange, says he, that in " an act so mad and villainous, his audaciousness

* Pro dom. 51. 53.

A. Urb. 696. Cic. 59. Coss.—P. Corn. Lent. Spinther. Q. Cæc. Metel. Nepos.

"could not get the better of his fears: for what pi-
"rate, though ever so barbarous, after he had been
"plundering temples, when pricked by a dream or
"scruple of religion, he came to consecrate some altar
"on a desert shore, was not terrified in his mind, on
"being forced to appease that deity by his prayers,
"whom he had provoked by his sacrilege? In what
"horrors, then, think you, must this man needs be,
"the plunderer of all temples, houses, and the whole
"city, when, for the expiation of so many impieties,
"he was wickedly consecrating one single altar *?
"Then, after a solemn invocation and appeal to all
"the gods who peculiarly favoured and protected that
"city, to bear witness to the integrity of his zeal and
"love to the republic, and that in all his labours and
"struggles, he had constantly preferred the public
"benefit to his own, he commits the justice of his
"cause to the judgment of the venerable bench."

He was particularly pleased with the composition of this speech, which he published immediately; and says upon it, that if ever he made any figure in speaking, his indignation, and the sense of his injuries, had inspired him with new force and spirit in this cause †. The sentence of the priests turned wholly on what

* Pro dom. 54, 55.

† Acta res est accurate a nobis: et si unquam in dicendo fuimus aliquid, aut etiam si unquam alias fuimus, tum profectu dolor et magnitudo vim quandam nobis dicendi dedit. Itaque oratio juventuti nostræ deberi non potest. Ad Att. 4. 2.

A. Urb. 696. Cic. 50. Cos.—P. Corn. Lentul. Spinther. Q. Cæc. Metel. Nepos.

Cicero had alleged about the force of the Papirian law; viz. that if he, who performed the office of consecration, had not been specially authorised and personally appointed to it by the people, then the area in question might, without any scruple of religion, be restored to Cicero. This, though it seemed somewhat evasive, was sufficient for Cicero's purpose; and his friends congratulated him upon it, as upon a clear victory; while Clodius interpreted it still in favour of himself, and being produced into the rostra by his brother Appius, acquainted the people, "that the priests "had given judgment for him, but that Cicero was "preparing to recover possession by force, and exhort-"ed them, therefore, to follow him and Appius in the "defence of their liberties." But his speech made no impression on the audience; "some wondered at his "impudence, others laughed at his folly, and Cicero "resolved not to trouble himself, or the people, about "it, till the consuls, by a decree of the senate, had "contracted for rebuilding the portico of Catulus *.

The senate met the next day, in a full house, to put an end to this affair; when Marcellinus, one of the

* Cum pontifices decressent, ita; "Si neque populi jussu, neque plebisscitu, is qui se dedicasse diceret, nominatim ei rei præfectus esset; neque populi jussu, neque plebisscitu id facere jussus esset, videri posse sine religione eam partem areæ mihi restitui." Mihi facta statim est gratulatio; nemo enim dubitat, quin domus nobis esset adjudicata. Tum subito ille in concionem ascendit, quam Appius ei dedit: nunciat jam populo, pontifices secundum se decrevisse; me autem vi conari in possessionem venire: hortatur, ut se et Appium sequantur, et suam libertatem ut defendant. Hic cum etiam illi infimi partim admirarentur, partim irriderent hominis amentiam. Ad Att. 4. 2.

A. Urb. 696. Cic. 50. Cos.—P. Corn. Lent. Spinther. Q. Cæc. Metel. Nepos.

consuls-elect, being called upon to speak first, addressed himself to the priests, and desired them to give an account of the grounds and meaning of their sentence; upon which Lucullus, in the name of the rest, declared, "that the priests were indeed the judges "of religion, but the senate of the law; that they "therefore had determined only what related to the "point of religion, and left it to the senate to determine whether any obstacle remained in point of "law:" all the other priests spoke largely after him in favour of Cicero's cause: when Clodius rose afterwards to speak, he endeavoured to waste the time so, as to hinder their coming to any resolution that day; but after he had been speaking for three hours successively, the assembly grew so impatient, and made such a noise and hissing, that he was forced to give over: yet, when they were going to pass a decree, in the words of Marcellinus, Serranus put his negative upon it: this raised an universal indignation; and a fresh debate began, at the motion of the two consuls, on the merit of the tribune's intercession; when, after many warm speeches, they came to the following vote: "That it was the resolution of the "senate, that Cicero's house should be restored to him, "and Catulus's portico rebuilt, as it had been before; "and that this vote should be defended by all the "magistrates; and if any violence or obstruction was "offered to it, that the senate would look upon it, "as offered by him, who had interposed his negative." This staggered Serranus, and the late farce was played over again; his father threw himself at his feet, to beg

A. Urb. 696. Cic. 50. Coss.—P. Corn. Lentul. Spinther. Q. Cæc. Metel. Nepos.

him to desist; he desired a night's time, which at first was refused, but, on Cicero's request, granted; and the next day he revoked his negative, and, without farther opposition, suffered the senate to pass a decree, that Cicero's damage should be made good to him, and his houses re-built at the public charge *.

The consuls began presently to put the decree in execution; and, having contracted for the re-building Catulus's portico, set men to work, upon clearing the ground, and demolishing what had been built by Clodius: but as to Cicero's buildings, it was agreed to take an estimate of his damage, and pay the amount of it to himself, to be laid out according to his own fancy: in which his Palatine house was valued at sixteen thousand pounds: his Tusculan at four thousand; his Formian only at two thousand. This was a very deficient and shameful valuation, which all the world cried out upon; for the Palatine house had cost him, not long before, near twice that sum: but Cicero would not give himself any trouble about it, or make any exceptions, which gave the consuls a handle to throw the blame upon his own modesty, for not remonstrating against it, and seeming to be satisfied with what was awarded: but the true reason was, as he himself declares, that those who had clipt his wings had no mind to let them grow again; and though they had been his advocates when absent, began now to be

* Ad Att. 4. 2.

A. Urb. 696. Cic. 50. Coss.—P. Corn. Lent. Spinther. Q. Cæc. Metel. Nepos.

secretly angry, and openly envious of him when present *.

But as he was never covetous, this affair gave him no great uneasiness; though, through the late ruin of his fortunes, he was now in such want of money, that he resolved to expose his Tusculan villa to sale; but soon changed his mind and built it up again with much more magnificence than before; and for the beauty of its situation and neighbourhood to the city, took more pleasure in it ever after, than in any other of his country seats. But he had some domestic grievances about this time, which touched him more nearly; and which, as he signifies obscurely to Atticus, were of too delicate a nature to be explained by a letter †: they arose chiefly from the petulant humour of his wife, which began to give him frequent occasions of chagrin; and, by a series of repeated provocations, confirmed in him that settled disgust, which ended at last in a divorce.

As he was now restored to the possession both of his dignity and fortunes, so he was desirous to destroy all the public monuments of his late disgrace; nor to

* Nobis superficiem ædium consules de consilii sententia æstimarunt HS. vicies; cætera valde illiberaliter; Tusculanam villam quingentis millibus; Formianum H.S. ducentis quinquaginta millibus; quæ æstimatio non modo ab optimo quoque sed etiam a plebe reprehenditur. Dices, quid igitur causæ fuit? Dicunt illi quidem pudorem meum, quod neque negarim, neque vehementius postularim. Sed non est id; nam hoc quidem etiam profuisset. Verum fidem, mi Pomponi, iidem inquam illi, qui mihi pennas inciderunt, nolunt easdem renasci. Ibid.

† Tusculanum proscripsi: suburbano non facile careo.—Cætera, quæ me solicitant, συνωνύμια sunt. Amamur a fratre et filia. Ib.

A. Urb. 696. Cic. 50. Coss.—P. Corn. Lent. Spinther. Q. Cæc. Metel. Nepos.

suffer the law of his exile to remain, with the other acts of Clodius's tribunate, hanging up in the Capitol, engraved, as usual, on tables of brass: watching therefore the opportunity of Clodius's absence, he went to the Capitol with a strong body of his friends, and taking the tables down conveyed them to his own house. This occasioned a sharp contest in the senate between him and Clodius, about the validity of those acts; and drew Cato also into the debate; who, for the sake of his Cyprian commission, thought himself obliged to defend their legality against Cicero; which created some little coldness between them, and gave no small pleasure to the common enemies of them both †.

But Cicero's chief concern at present was, how to support his former authority in the city, and provide for his future safety; as well against the malice of declared enemies, as the envy of pretended friends, which he perceived to be growing up afresh against him: he had thoughts of putting in for the censorship; or of procuring one of those honorary Lieutenancies, which gave a public character to private senators; with intent to make a progress through Italy, or a kind of religious pilgrimage to all the temples, groves and sacred places, on pretence of a vow made in his exile. This would give him an opportunity of shewing himself every where in a light which naturally attracts the affection of the multitude, by testifying a pious regard to the favourite superstitions and

† Plutarch in Cic. Dio. p. 109.

A. Urb. 696. Cic. 52. Cos.—P. Corn. Lent. Spinther. Q. Cæc. Metel. Nepos.

local religions of the country; as the great, in the same county, still pay their court to the vulgar, by visiting the shrines and altars of the saints which are most in vogue: he mentions these projects to Atticus, as designed to be executed in the spring, resolving in the mean while to cherish the good inclination of the people towards him, by keeping himself perpetually in the view of the city ‡.

Catulus's portico, and Cicero's house were rising again apace and carried up almost to the roof; when Clodius, without any warning, attacked them, on the second of November, with a band of armed men, who demolished the portico, and drove the workmen out of Cicero's ground, and with the stones and rubbish of the place began to batter Quintus's house, with whom Cicero then lived, and at last set fire to it; so that the two brothers, with their families, were forced to save themselves by a hasty flight. Milo had already accused Clodius for his former violences, and resolved, if possible, to bring him to justice: Clodius, on the other hand, was suing for the Ædileship, to secure himself, for one year more at least, from any prosecution: he was sure of being condemned, if ever he was brought to trial, so that whatever mischief he did in the mean time was all clear gain, and could not make his cause the worse ‖: he now therefore gave a free

‡ Ut nulla re impedirer, quod nisi vellem, mihi esset integrum, aut si comitia censorum proximi consules haberent, petere posse, aut votivam legationem sumsisse prope omnium fanorum, ac lucorum. Ad Att. 4. 2.

‖ Armatis hominibus ante diem III. Non. Novemb. expulsi sunt fabri de area nostra, disturbata porticus Catuli—Quæ ad tectum

A. Urb. 696. Cic. 50. Coss.—P. Corn. Lent. Spinther. Q. Cæc. Metel. Nepos.

course to his natural fury; was perpetually scouring the streets with his incendiaries, and threatning fire and sword to the city itself, if an assembly was not called for the election of ædiles. In this humour, about a week after his last outrage, on the eleventh of November, happening to meet with Cicero, in the sacred street, he presently assaulted him with stones, clubs, and drawn swords: Cicero was not prepared for the encounter, and took refuge in the vestibule of the next house; where his attendants rallying in his defence, beat off the assailants, and could easily have killed their leader, but that Cicero was willing, he says, to cure by diet, rather than surgery. The day following Clodius attacked Milo's house, with sword in hand and lighted flambeaus, with intent to storm and burn it: but Milo was never unprovided for him; and Q. Flaccus, sallying out with a strong band of stout fellows, killed several of his men, and would have killed Clodius too, if he had not hid himself in the inner apartments of P. Sylla's house, which he made use of on this occasion as his fortress §.

pæne pervenerat. Quinti fratris domus primo fracta conjectu lapidum, ex area nostra, deinde jussu Clodii inflammata, inspectante urbe, conjectis ignibus.——Videt, si omnes quos vult palam occiderit, nihilo suam causam difficiliorem, quam adhuc sit, in judicio futuram.—Ad Att. 4. 3.

§ Ante diem tertium Id. Novemb. cum sacra via descenderem, insecutus est me cum suis. Clamor lapides, fustes, gladii; hæc improvisa omnia. Discessimus in vestibulum Tetii Damionis: qui erant mecum facile operas aditu prohibuerunt. Ipse occidi potuit; sed ego diæta curare incipio, chirurgiæ tædet.—Milonis domum prid. id. expugnare et incendere ita conatus est, ut palam hora quinta cum scutis homines, eductis gladiis, alios cum accensis facibus adduxerit. Ipse domum P. Syllæ pro castris ad eam impugnationem sumpserat, &c. Ad Att. 4. 3.

A. Urb. 696. Cic. 50. Coss.—P. Corn. Lent. Spinther. Q. Cæc. Metel. Nepos.

The senate met, on the fourteenth, to take these disorders into consideration; Clodius did not think fit to appear there; but Sylla came, to clear himself probably from the suspicion of encouraging him in these violences, on account of the freedom, which he had taken with his house *. Many severe speeches were made, and vigorous counsels proposed; Marcellinus's opinion was, that Clodius should be impeached anew for these last outrages; and that no election of ædiles should be suffered, till he was brought to a trial: Milo declared, that as long as he continued in office, the consul Metellus should make no election: for he would take the auspices every day, on which an assembly could be held; but Metellus contrived to waste the day in speaking, so that they were forced to break up without making any decree. Milo was as good as his word, and, having gathered a superior force, took care to obstruct the election; though the consul Metellus employed all his power and art to elude his vigilance, and procure an assembly by stratagem; calling it to one place, and holding it in another, sometimes in the field of Mars, sometimes in the forum; but Milo was ever before hand with him; and, keeping a constant guard in the field from midnight to noon, was always at hand to inhibit his proceedings, by obnouncing, as it was called, or declaring, that he was taking the auspices on that day; so that the three brothers were baffled and disappointed, though they were perpetually haranguing and labouring to inflame the people against

* Sylla se in senatu postridie Idus, domi Clodius. Ib.

A. Urb. 696. Cic. 50. Coss.—P. Corn. Lent. Spinther. Q. Cæc. Metel. Nepos.

those, who interrupted their assemblies and right of electing; where Metellus's speeches were turbulent, Appius's rash, Clodius's furious. Cicero, who gives this account to Atticus, was of opinion that there would be no election; and that Clodius would be brought to trial, if he was not first killed by Milo; which was likely to be his fate: "Milo," says he, "makes no scruple to own it; being not deterred by "my misfortune, and having no envious or perfidious "counsellors about him, nor any lazy nobles to dis-"courage him: it is commonly given out by the other "side, that what he does, is all done by my advice; "but they little know how much conduct, as well as "courage, there is in this hero †."

Young Lentulus, the son of the consul, was, by the interest of his father, and the recommendation of his noble birth, chosen into the college of augurs this summer, though not yet seventeen years old; having

† Egregius Marcellinus, omnes acres; Metellus calumnia dicendi tempus exemit: conciones turbulentæ Metelli, temerariæ Appii, furiosissimæ Clodii: hæc tamen summa, nisi Milo in campum obnunciasset, comitia futura.—Comitia fore non arbitror; reum Publium, nisi ante occisus erit, fore a Milone puto. Si se inter viam obtulerit, occisum iri ab ipso Milone video. Non dubitat facere; præ se fert; casum illum nostrum non extimescit, &c.

Meo consilio omnia illi fieri querebantur, ignari quantum in illo heroe esset animi, quantum etiam consilii.—Ad Att. 4. 3.

N. B. From these facts it appears, that what is said above, of Ælian and Fusian laws, and prohibiting the magistrates from obstructing the assemblies of the people, is to be understood only in a partial sense, and that his new law extended no farther, than to hinder the magistrates from dissolving an assembly, after it was actually convened and had entered upon business; for it was still unlawful, we see, to convene an assembly, while the magistrate was in the act of observing the heavens.

A. Urb. 696. Cic. 50. Coss.—P. Corn Lent. Spinther. Q. Cæc. Metel. Nepos.

but just changed his puerile for the manly gown ‡: Cicero was invited to the inauguration feast, where, by eating too freely of some vegetables, which happened to please his palate, he was seized with a violent pain of the bowels, and diarrhæa; of which he sends the following account to his friend Gallus.

CICERO to GALLUS.

"After I had been labouring for ten days, with a "cruel disorder in my bowels, yet could not convince "those, who wanted me at the bar, that I was ill, be- "cause I had no fever, I ran away to Tusculum; hav- "ing kept so strict a fast for two days before, that I "did not taste so much as water: being worn out "therefore with illness and fasting, I wanted rather to "see you, than imagined that you expected a visit "from me; for my part, I am afraid, I confess, of all "distempers; but especially of those, for which the "Stoics abuse your Epicurus, when he complains of "the strangury and dysentery; the one of which they "take to be the effect of gluttony; the other of a "more scandalous intemperance. I was apprehensive "indeed of a dysentery; but seem to have found be- "nefit, either from the change of air, or the relaxa- "tion of my mind, or the remission of the disease it- "self: but that you may not be surprised how this "should happen, and what I have been doing to bring "it upon me; the sumptuary law, which seems to in-

‡ Cui superior annus idem & virilem patris & prætextam populi judicio togam dederit.—Pr. Sext. 79. it. Dio. l. 39. p. 99.

A. Urb. 696. Cic. 50. Coss.—P. Corn. Lent. Spinther. Q. Cæc. Metel. Nepos.

"troduce a simplicity of diet, did me all this mischief. "For since our men of taste are grown so fond of co- "vering their tables, with the productions of the earth, "which are excepted by the law, they have found a "way of dressing mushrooms and all other vegetables "so palatably, that nothing can be more delicious: I "happened to fall upon these at Lentulus's augural "supper, and was taken with so violent a flux, that "this is the first day on which it has begun to give "me any ease. Thus I, who used to command my- "self so easily in oysters and lampreys, was caught "with bete and mallows; but I shall be more cautious "for the future: you however, who must have heard "of my illness from Anicius, for he saw me in a fit of "vomiting, had a just reason, not only for sending, "but for coming yourself to see me. I think to stay "here, till I recruit myself; for I have lost both my "strength and my flesh; but if I once get rid of my "distemper, it will be easy, I hope, to recover the "rest *."

King Ptolemy left Rome about this time, after he had distributed immense sums among the great, to

* Ep. Fam. 7. 26.

N. B. Pliny says, that the colum, by which he is supposed to mean the cholic, was not known at Rome till the reign of Tiberius: but the case described in this letter seems to come so very near to it, that he must be understood, rather of the name, than of the thing; as the learned Dr Le Clerk has observed in his history of medicine.—Plin. l. 26. 1. Le Cler. Hist. par. 2. l. 4. sect. 2. c. 4.

The mention likewise of the δυσεριακὰ πάθη, or the strangury of Epicurus, and the censure which the Stoics passed upon it, would make one apt to suspect, that some disorders of a venereal kind were not unknown to the ancients.

A. Urb. 696. Cic. 50. Cos.—P. Corn. Lent. Spinther. Q. Cæc. Metel. Nepos

purchase his restoration by a Roman army. The people of Ægypt had sent deputies also after him, to plead their cause before the senate, and to explain the reasons of their expelling him; but the king contrived to get them all assassinated on the road, before they reached the city. This piece of villainy, and the notion of his having bribed all the magistrates, had raised so general an aversion to him among the people, that he found it adviseable to quit the city, and leave the management of his interest to his agents. The consul Lentulus, who had obtained the province of Cilicia and Cyprus, whither he was preparing to set forward, was very desirous to be charged with the commission of replacing him on the throne; for which he had already procured a vote of the senate: the opportunity of a command, almost in sight of Ægypt, made him generally thought to have the best pretensions to that charge; and he was assured of Cicero's warm assistance in soliciting the confirmation of it.

In this situation of affairs, the new tribunes entered into office: C. Cato, of the same family with his namesake Marcus, was one of the number; a bold turbulent man, of no temper or prudence, yet a tolerable speaker, and generally on the better side in politics. Before he had borne any public office, he attempted to impeach Gabinius of bribery and corruption; but not being able to get an audience of the prætors, he had the hardiness to mount the rostra, which was never allowed to a private citizen, and, in a speech to the people, declared Pompey dictator: but his presumption had like to have cost him dear; for it raised

A. Urb. 696. Cic. 50. Coss.—P. Corn. Lent. Spinther. Q. Cæc. Metel. Nepos.

such an indignation in the audience, that he had much difficulty to escape with his life *. He opened his present magistracy by declaring loudly against king Ptolemy, and all who favoured him, especially Lentulus, whom he supposed to be under some private engagement with him, and, for that reason, was determined to baffle all their schemes.

Lupus likewise, one of his colleagues, summoned the senate, and raised an expectation of some uncommon proposal for him: it was indeed of an extraordinary nature; to revise and annul that famed act of Cæsar's consulship, for the division of the Campanian lands: he spoke long and well upon it, and was heard with much attention; gave great praises to Cicero, with severe reflections on Cæsar, and expostulations with Pompey, who was now abroad in the execution of his late commission: in the conclusion he told them, that he would not demand the opinions of the particular senators, because he had no mind to expose them to the resentment and animosity of any; but from the ill humour, which he remembered, when that act first passed, and the favour with which he was now heard, he could easily collect the sense of the house. Upon which Marcellinus said, "that he "must not conclude, from their silence, either what

* Ut Cato, adolescens nullius consilii,—vix vivus effugeret; quod cum Gabinium de ambitu vellet postulare, neque prætores diebus aliquot adiri possent, vel potestatem sui facerent, in concionem adscendit, et Pompeium privatus dictatorem appellavit. Propius nihil est factum, quam ut occideretur. Ep. ad Quint. Frat. I. 2.

A. Urb. 696. Ric. 50. Cos.—P. Corn. Lent. Spinther. Q. Cæc. Metel. Nepos.

" they liked or disliked: that, for his own part, and " he might answer, too, he believed, for the rest, he " chose to say nothing on the subject at present, be- " cause he thought that the cause of the Campanian " lands ought not to be brought upon the stage in " Pompey's absence."

This affair being dropt, Racilius, another tribune, rose up and renewed the debate about Milo's impeachment of Clodius, and called upon Marcellinus, the consul-elect, to give his opinion upon it; who, after inveighing against all the violences of Clodius, proposed, that, in the first place, an allotment of judges should be made for the trial; and, after that, the election of ædiles; and, if any one attempted to hinder the trial, that he should be deemed a public enemy. The other consul-elect, Philippus, was of the same mind; but the tribunes, Cato and Cassius, spoke against it, and were for proceeding to an election before any step towards a trial. When Cicero was called upon to speak, he run through the whole series of Clodius's extravagancies, as if he had been accusing him already at the bar, to the great satisfaction of the assembly: Antistius, the tribune, seconded him, and declared, that no business should be done before the trial; and when the house was going universally into that opinion, Clodius began to speak, with intent to waste the rest of the day, while his slaves and followers without, who had seized the steps and avenues of the senate, raised so great a noise, of a sudden, in abusing some of Milo's friends, that the senate broke

A. Urb. 696. Cic. 50. Coss.—P. Corn. Lent. Spinther. Q. Cæc. Metel. Nepos.

up in no small hurry, and with fresh indignation at this new insult *.

There was no more business done through the remaining part of December, which was taken up chiefly with holy days. Lentulus and Metellus, whose consulship expired with the year, set forward for their several governments; the one for Cilicia, the other for Spain: Lentulus committed the whole direction of his affairs to Cicero; and Metellus, unwilling to leave him his enemy, made up all matters with him before his departure, and wrote an affectionate letter to him afterwards from Spain; in which he acknowledges his services, and intimates, that he had given up his brother Clodius, in exchange for his friendship †.

A. Urb. 697. Cic. 51. Coss.—Cn. Corn. Lent. Marcellinus. L. Mar. Philippus.

Cicero's first concern, on the opening of the new year, was to get the commission, for restoring king Ptolemy, confirmed to Lentulus; which came now under deliberation: the tribune, Cato, was fierce against restoring him at all, with the greatest part of the senate on his side; when, taking occasion to consult the Sibylline books, on the subject of some late

* Tum Clodius rogatus diem dicendo eximere cœpit—deinde ejus operæ repente a Græcostasi et gradibus clamorem satis magnum sustulerunt, opinor in Q. Sextilium et amicos Milonis incitatæ; eo metu injecto repente magna querimonia omnium discessimus. Ad Quint. Fr. 2. 1.

† Libenterque commutata persona, te mihi fratris loco esse duco. Ep. Fam. 5. 3.

A. Urb. 697. Cic. 51. Coss.—Cn. Corn. Lent. Marcellinus. L. Mar. Philippus.

prodigies, he chanced to find in them certain verses, forewarning the Roman people, not to replace an exiled king of Egypt with an army. This was so pat to his purpose, that there could be no doubt of its being forged; but Cato called up the guardians of the books into the rostra, to testify the passage to be genuine; where it was publicly read and explained to the people: it was laid also before the senate, who greedily received it; and, after a grave debate on this scruple of religion, came to a resolution that it seemed dangerous to the republic, that the king should be restored by a multitude †. It cannot be imagined, that they laid any real stress on this admonition of the Sibyl, for there was not a man either in or out of the house, who did not take it for a fiction: but it was a fair pretext for defeating a project which was generally disliked: They were unwilling to gratify any man's ambition, of visiting the rich country of Egypt, at the head of an army, and persuaded that without an army no man would be solicitous about going thither at all ‡.

This point being settled, the next question was, in what manner the king should be restored: various opinions were proposed; Crassus moved, that three ambassadors, chosen from those who had some public

† Senatus religionis calumniam, non religione, sed malevolentia, et illius regiæ largitionis invidia comprobat.—Ep. Fam. 1. 1.

De Rege Alexandrino factum est S. C. cum multitudine eum reduci, periculosum reipub. videri.—Ad Quin. Fr. 2. 2.

‡ Hæc tamen opinio est populi Romani, a tuis invidis atque obtrectatoribus nomen inductum fictæ religionis, non tam ut te impedirent, quam ut nequis, propter exercitus cupiditatem, Alexandriam vellet ire. Ep. Fam. 1. 4.

A. Urb. 697. Cic. 51. Cos.—Cn. Corn. Lent. Marcellinus. L. Mar. Philippus.

command, should be sent on the errand; which did not exclude Pompey: Bibulus proposed, that three private senators; and Volcatius, that Pompey alone should be charged with it: but Cicero, Hortensius, and Lucullus urged, that Lentulus, to whom the senate had already decreed it, and who could execute it with most convenience, should restore him without an army. The two first opinions were soon over-ruled, and the struggle lay between Lentulus and Pompey. Cicero, though he had some reason to complain of Lentulus, since his return, particularly for the contemptible valuation of his houses, yet, for the great part which he had born in restoring him, was very desirous to shew his gratitude, and resolved to support him with all his authority: Pompey, who had obligations also to Lentulus, acted the same part towards him, which he had done before towards Cicero; by his own conduct and professions, he seemed to have Lentulus's interest at heart; yet, by the conduct of all his friends, seemed desirous to procure the employment for himself; while the king's agents and creditors, fancying that their business would be served the most effectually by Pompey, began openly to solicit, and even to bribe for him*. But the senate, through

* Crassus tres legatos decernit, nec excludit Pompeium: censet enim etiam ex iis, qui cum imperio sunt. M. Bibulus tres legatos ex iis, qui privati sunt. Huic assentiuntur reliqui consulares, præter Servilium, qui omnino reduci negat oportere, et Volcatium, qui decernit Pompeio.

Hortensii et mea et Luculli sententia—Ex illo S. C. quod te referente factum est, tibi decernit, ut reducas regem.

Regia

A. Urb. 697. Cic. 51. Coss.—Cn. Corn. Lent. Marcellinus. L. Mar. Philippus.

Cicero's influence, stood generally inclined to Lentulus; and, after a debate, which ended in his favour, Cicero, who had been the manager of it, happening to sup with Pompey that evening, took occasion to press him with much freedom, not to suffer his name to be used in this competition; nor give a handle to his enemies, for reproaching him with the desertion of a friend, as well as an ambition of engrossing all power to himself. Pompey seemed touched with the remonstrance, and professed to have no other thought, but of serving Lentulus, while his dependents continued still to act so, as to convince every body that he could not be sincere *.

When Lentulus's pretensions seemed to be in a hopeful way, C. Cato took a new and effectual method to disappoint them, by proposing a law to the people, for taking away his government and recalling

Regis causa si qui sunt qui velint, qui pauci sunt, omnes rem ad Pompeium deferri volunt. Ep. Fam. 1. 1.

Reliqui cum esset in senatu contentio, Lentulusne an Pompeius reduceret, obtinere causam Lentulus videbatur. In ea re Pompeius quid velit non despicio: familiares ejus quid cupiant, omnes vident. Creditores vero regis aperte pecunias suppeditant contra Lentulum. Sine dubio res remota a Lentulo videtur, cum magno meo dolore: quamquam multa fecit, quare si fas esset, jure ei succensere possemus. Ad Quin. Fr. 2. 2.

* Ego eo die casu apud Pompeium cænavi: nactusque tempus hoc magis idoneum, quam unquam antea post tuum discessum, is enim dies honestissimus nobis fuerat in senatu, ita sum cum illo locutus, ut mihi viderer animum hominis ab omni alia cogitatione ad tuam dignitatem tuendam traducere: quem ego ipsum cum audio, prorsus eum libero omni suspicione cupiditatis: cum autem ejus familiares, omnium ordinum video, perspicio, id quod jam omnibus est apertum, totam rem istam jam pridem a certis hominibus, non invito rege ipso—esse corruptam. Ep. Fam. 1. 2.

A. Urb. 697. Cic. 51. Coss.—Cn. Corn. Lent. Marcellinus. L. Mar. Philippus.

him home. This stroke surprised every body; the senate condemned it as factious; and Lentulus's son changed his habit upon it, in order to move the citizens, and hinder their offering such an affront to his father. The tribune, Caninius, proposed another law, at the same time, for sending Pompey to Egypt: but this pleased no better than the other; and the consuls contrived, that neither of them should be brought to the suffrage of the people*. These new contests gave a fresh interruption to Ptolemy's cause; in which Cicero's resolution was, if the commission could not be obtained for Lentulus, to prevent its being granted at least to Pompey, and save themselves the disgrace of being baffled by a competitor †: but the senate was grown so sick of the whole affair, that they resolved to leave the king to shift for himself, without interposing at all in his restoration; and so the matter hung; whilst other affairs, more interesting, were daily rising up at home, and engaging the attention of the city.

The election of ædiles, which had been industriously postponed through all the last summer, could not easi-

* Nos cum maxime consilio, studio, labore, gratia, de causa regia niteremur, subito exorta est nefaria Catonis promulgatio, quæ studia nostra impediret, et animos a minore cura ad summum timorem traduceret. Ibid. 5.

Suspicor per vim rogationem Caninium perlaturum. Ad Quint. 2. 2.

† Sed vereor ne aut eripiatur nobis causa regia, aut deseratur. Sed si res coget, est quiddam tertium, quod non—mihi displicebat; ut neque jacere regem pateremur, nec nobis repugnantibus, ad eum deferri, ad quem prope jam delatum videtur. Ne, si quid non obtinuerimus, repulsi esse videamur. Ep. Fam. 1. 5.

A. Urb. 697. Cic. 51. Coss.—Cn. Corn. Lent. Marcellinus. L. Mar. Philippus.

ly be kept off any longer: the city was impatient for its magistrates; and especially for the plays and shews with which they used to entertain them; and several also of the new tribunes being zealous for an election, it was held at last on the twentieth of January; when Clodius was chosen ædile, without any opposition; so that Cicero began once more to put himself upon his guard, from the certain expectation of a furious ædileship *.

It may justly seem strange, how a man so profligate and criminal as Clodius, whose life was a perpetual insult on all laws, divine and human, should be suffered not only to live without punishment, but to obtain all the honours of a free city in their proper course; and it would be natural to suspect, that we had been deceived in our accounts of him, by taking them from his enemies, did we not find them too firmly supported by facts to be called in question: but a little attention to the particular character of the man, as well as of the times in which he lived, will enable us to solve the difficulty. First, the splendor of his family, which had born a principal share in all the triumphs of the republic, from the very foundation of it's liberty, was of great force to protect him in all his extravagancies: those, who know any thing of Rome, know what a strong impression this single circumstance of illustrious nobility would necessarily make upon the people; Cicero calls the nobles of his class, prætors and con-

* Sed omnia fiunt tardiora propter furiosæ ædilitatis expectationem. Ad Quint. 2. 2.

A. Urb. 697. Cic. 51. Coss.—Cn. Corn. Lent. Marcellinus. L. Mar. Philippus.

suls elect from their cradles, by a kind of hereditary right; whose very names were sufficient to advance them to all the dignities of the state *. Secondly, his personal qualities were peculiarly adapted to endear him to all the meaner sort: his bold and ready wit; his talent at haranguing; his profuse expence; and his being the first of the family who had pursued popular measures, against the maxims of his ancestors, who were all stern assertors of the aristocratical power. Thirdly, the contrast of opposite factions who had each their ends in supporting him, contributed principally to his safety: the triumvirate willingly permitted and privately encouraged his violencies; to make their own power not only the less odious, but even necessary, for controuling the fury of such an incendiary; and though it was often turned against themselves, yet they chose to bear it, and dissemble their ability of repelling it, rather than destroy the man who was playing their game for them, and, by throwing the republic into confusion, throwing it of course into their hands: the senate, on the other side, whose chief apprehensions were from the triumvirate, thought, that the rashness of Clodius might be of some use to perplex their measures, and stir up the people against them on proper occasions; or it humoured their spleen at least, to see him often insulting Pom-

* Non idem mihi licet, quod iis, qui nobili genere nati sunt, quibus omnia populi Romani beneficia dormientibus deferuntur.—In Verr. 5. 70.

Erat nobilitate ipsâ, blanda conciliatricula commendatus. Omnes semper boni nobilitati favemus, &c.—Pr. Sext. 9.

A. Urb. 697. Cic. 51. Cos.—Cn. Corn. Lent. Marcellinus. L. Mar. Philippus.

pey to his face *. Lastly, all, who envied Cicero, and desired to lessen his authority, privately cherished an enemy, who employed all his force to drive him from the administration of affairs: this accidental concurrence of circumstances, peculiar to the man and the times, was the thing that preserved Clodius, whose insolence could never have been endured in any quiet and regular state of the city.

By his obtaining the ædileship, the tables were turned between him and Milo: the one was armed with the authority of a magistrate; the other become a private man: the one freed from all apprehension of judges and a trial; the other exposed to all that danger from the power of his antagonist: and it was not Clodius's custom, to neglect any advantage against an enemy; so that he now accused Milo of the same crime of which Milo had accused him; of publick violence and breach of the laws, in maintaining a band of gladiators to the terror of the city. Milo made his appearance to this accusation, on the second of February; when Pompey, Crassus, and Cicero appeared with him; and M. Marcellus, though Clodius's colleague in the ædileship, spoke for him at Cicero's desire; and the whole passed quietly and favourably for him on that day. The second hearing was appointed on

* Videtis igitur hominem per seipsum jam pridem afflictum ac jacentem, pernisiosis optimatum discordiis excitari.—Ne a republica reipub. pestis amoveretur, restiterant: etiam, ne causam diceret: etiam ne privatus esset etiamne in sinu atque in deliciis quidam optimi viri viperam illam venenatam ac pestiferam habere potuerunt? Quo tandem decepti munere? Volo, inquiunt, esse qui in concione loquatur de Pompeio.—De Harusp. resp. 24.

A. Urb. 697. Cic. 51. Coes.—Cn. Corn. Lent. Marcellinus. L. Mar. Philippus.

the ninth; when Pompey undertook to plead his cause but no soooner stood up to speak, than Clodius's mob began to exert their usual arts, and, by a continual clamour of reproaches and invectives, endeavoured to hinder him from going on, or at least from being heard: but Pompey was too firm to be so baffled; and spoke for near three hours, with a presence of mind, which commanded silence in spite of their attempts. When Clodius rose up to answer him, Milo's party, in their turn, so disturbed and confounded him, that he was not able to speak a word; while a number of epigrams and lampoons upon him and his sister were thrown about, and publicly rehearsed among the multitude below, so as to make him quite furious: till recollecting himself a little, and finding it impossible to proceed in his speech, he demanded aloud of his mob, who it was, that attempted to starve them by famine? To which they presently cried out, Pompey: he then asked, who it was, that desired to be sent to Ægypt? They all echoed, Pompey: but when he asked, who it was, that they themselves had a mind to send? they answered, Crassus: for the old jealousy was now breaking out again between him and Pompey; and though he appeared that day on Milo's side, yet he was not, as Cicero says, a real well-wisher to him.

These warm procedings among the chiefs, brought on a fray below, among their partisans; the Clodians began the attack, but were repulsed by the Pompeians; and Clodius himself driven out of the rostra: Cicero, when he saw the affair proceed to blows, thought it high time to retreat and make the best of

A. Urb. 697. Cic. 51. Cos.—Cn. Corn. Lent. Marcellinus. L. Mar. Philippus.

his way towards home: but no great harm was done, for Pompey, having cleared the forum of his enemies, presently drew off his forces, to prevent any farther mischief or scandal from his side *.

The senate was presently summoned, to provide some remedy for these disorders; where Pompey, who had drawn upon himself a fresh envy from his behaviour in the Ægyptian affair, was severely handled by Bibulus, Curio, Favonius, and others; Cicero chose to be absent, since he must either have offended Pompey, by saying nothing for him, or the honest party, by defending him. The same debate was carried on for several days; in which Pompey was treated very roughly by the tribune Cato; who inveighed against

* Ad diem IIII. Non. Febr. Milo affuit. Ei Pompeius advocatus venit. Dixit Marcellus a me rogatus. Honeste discessimus. Productus dies est in IIII. Id. Feb.—A. D. IIII. Id. Milo affuit. Dixit Pompejus, sive voluit. Nam ut surrexit, operæ Clodianæ clamorem sustulerunt: idque ei perpetua oratione contigit, non modo ut acclamatione, sed ut convicio et maledictis impediretur. Qui ut peroravit, nam in eo sane fortis fuit, non est deterritus, dixit omnia atque interdum etiam silentio, cum auctoritate peregerat; sed ut peroravit, surrexit Clodius: ei tantus clamor a nostris, placuerat enim referre gratiam, ut neque mente, neque lingua, neque ore consisteret.—Cum omnia maledicta, tum versus etiam obscœnissimi in Clodium et Clodiam dicerentur. Ille furens et exsanguis interrogabat suos in clamore ipso, quis esset, qui plebem fame necaret? Respondebant operæ, Pompeius. Quis Alexandriam ire cuperet? Respondebant, Pompeius. Quem ire vellent? Respondebant, Crassum. Is aderat tum Miloni animo non amico,——

Hora fere nona, quasi signo dato, Clodiani nostros consputare cœperunt. Exarsit dolor, urgere illi ut loco nos moverunt. Factus est a nostris impetus, fuga operarum. Ejectus de rostris Clodius. Ac nos quoque tum fugimus, ne quid in turba.—Senatus vocatus in Curiam, Pompeius domum.——Ad Quint. Fr. 2. 3.

A. Urb. 697. Cic. 51. Cos.—Cn Corn. Lent. Marcellinus. L. Mar. Philippus.

him with great fierceness, and laid open his perfidy to Cicero, to whom he paid the highest compliments, and was heard with much attention by all Pompey's enemies.

Pompey answered him with an unusual vehemence; and reflecting openly on Crassus, as the author of these affronts, declared, that he would guard his life with more care than Scipio Africanus did, when Carbo murdered him. These warm expressions seemed to open a prospect of some great agitation likely to ensue: Pompey consulted with Cicero on the proper means of his security; and acquainted him with his apprehensions of a design against his life; that Cato was privately supported, and Clodius furnished with money by Crassus; and both of them encouraged by Curio, Bibulus, and the rest, who envied him; that it was necessary for him to look to himself, since the meaner people were wholly alienated, the nobility and senate generally disaffected, and the youth corrupted. Cicero readily consented to join forces with him, and to summon their clients and friends from all parts of Italy: for though he had no mind to fight his battles in the senate, he was desirous to defend his person from all violence, especially against Crassus, whom he never loved: they resolved likewise, to oppose with united strength all the attempts of Clodius and Cato against Lentulus and Milo *. Clodius, on the other

* Neque ego in senatum, ne aut, de tantis rebus tacerem, aut in Pompeio defendendo, nam is carpebatur a Bibulo, Curione, Favonio, Servilio filio, animos bonorum offenderem. Res in posterum diem dilata,

A. Urb. 697. Cic. 51. Cos.—Cn. Corn. Lent. Marcellinus. L. Mar. Philippus.

hand, was not less busy in mustering his friends against the next hearing of Milo's cause: but as his strength was much inferior to that of his adversary, so he had no expectation of getting him condemned, nor any other view, but to teize and harass him †: for after two hearings, the affair was put off by several adjournments to the beginning of May; from which time we find no farther mention of it.

The consul, Marcellinus, who drew his colleague Philippus along with him, was a resolute opposer of the Triumvirate, as well as of all the violences of the other magistrates: for which reason, he resolved to suffer no assemblies of the people, except such as were necessary for the elections into the annual offices: his view was, to prevent Cato's law for recalling Lentulus, and the monstrous things, as Cicero calls them, which some were attempting at this time in favour of Cæsar.

dilata est.—Eo die nihil perfectum.—Ad diem II. Id.—Cato est vehementur in Pompeium invectus & eum oratione perpetua tanquam reum accusavit. De me multa me invito, cum mea summa laude dixit. Cum illius in me perfidiam increpavit, auditus est magno silentio malevolorum. Respondit ei vehementer Pompeius, Crassumque descripsit; dixitque aperte, se munitiorem ad custodiendam vitam suam fore, quam Africanus fuisset, quem C. Carbo interemisset. Itaque magnæ mihi res moveri videbantur. Nam Pompeius hæc intelligit, mecumque communicat insidias vitæ suæ fieri: C. Catonem a Crasso sustentari; Clodio pecuniam suppeditari: utrumque et ab eo et a Curione, Bibulo, cæterisque suis obtrectatoribus confirmari: vehementer esse providendum ne opprimatur, concionario illo populo, a se prope alienato, nobilitate inimica, non æquo senatu, juventute improba; itaque se comparat, homines ex agris arcessit. Operas autem suas Clodius confirmat. Manus ad Quirinalia paratur. In eo multo omnis superiores, &c. Ad Quint. 2. 3.

† Vid. Dio. p. 99.

A. Urb. 697. Cic. 51. Cos.—Ca. Corn. Lent. Marcellinus. L. Mar. Philippus.

Cicero gives him the character of one of the best consuls that he had ever known, and blames him only in one thing; for treating Pompey on all occasions too rudely; which made Cicero often absent himself from the senate, to avoid taking part, either on the one side or the other ‡. For the support therefore of his dignity and interest in the city, he resumed his old task of pleading causes; which was always popular and reputable, and in which he was sure to find full employment. His first task was the defence of L. Bestia, on the tenth of February, who, after the disgrace of a repulse from the prætorship in the last election, was accused of bribery and corruption in his suit for it; and, notwithstanding the authority and eloquence of his advocate, was convicted and banished. He was a man extremely corrupt, turbulent, and seditious; had always been an enemy to Cicero; and supposed to be deeply engaged in Catiline's plot; and is one instance of the truth of what Cicero says, that he was often forced, against his will, to defend certain persons, who had not deserved it of him, by the intercession of those who had *.

‡ Consul est egregius Lentulus, non impediente collega: sic inquam bonus, ut meliorem non viderim. Dies comitiales exemit omnes.—Sic legibus perniciosissimis obsistitur, maxime Catonis—Nunc igitur Catonem Lentulus a legibus removit, et eos, qui de Cæsare monstra promulgarunt.—Marcellinus autem hoc uno mihi minus satisfacit, quod eum nimis aspere tractat, quanquam id senatu non invito facit: quo ego me libentius a curia, et ab omni parte reip. subtraho. Ad Quint. 26.

* A. D. III. Id. dixi pro Bestia de ambitu apud prætorem Cn. Domitium, in foro medio, maximo conventu.—Ad Quint. 2. 3.

Cogor nonnunquam homines non optime de me meritos, rogatu eorum

A. Urb. 697. Cic. 51. Cos.—Cn. Corn. Lent. Marcellinus. L. Mar. Philippus.

Cæsar, who was now in the career of his victories in Gaul, sent a request to the senate; "that money "might be decreed to him for the payment of his ar- "my; with a power of chusing ten lieutenants, for "the better management of the war, and the conquer- "ed provinces; and that his command should be pro- "longed for five years more." The demand was thought very exorbitant; and it seemed strange, that, after all his boasted conquests, he should not be able to maintain his army without money from home, at a time when the treasury was greatly exhausted; and the renewal of a commission, obtained at first by violence, and against the authority of the senate, was of hard digestion. But Cæsar's interest prevailed, and Cicero himself was the promoter of it, and procured a decree to his satisfaction; yet not without disgusting the old patriots, who stood firm to their maxim of opposing all extraordinary grants: but Cicero alleged the extraordinary services of Cæsar; and that the course of his victories ought not to be checked by the want of necessary supplies, while he was so gloriously extending the bounds of the Empire, and conquering nations, whose names had never been heard before at Rome: and though it were possible for him to maintain his troops without their help, by the spoils of the enemy, yet those spoils ought to be reserved for the splendour of his triumph, which it was not just to defraud by their unseasonable parsimony †.

eorum qui bene meriti sunt, defendere. Ep. Fam. 7. 1. Vid. Philip. XI. 5. Sallust. 17, 43. Plutar. in Cic.

† Illum enim arbitrabar etiam sine hoc subsidio pecuniæ retine-

re

A. Urb. 697. Cic. 51. Cos.—Cn Corn. Lent. Marcellinus. L. Mar. Philippus.

He might think it imprudent perhaps at this time, to call Cæsar home from an unfinished war, and stop the progress of his arms in the very height of his success; yet the real motive of his conduct seems to have flowed, not so much from the merits of the cause, as a regard to the condition of the times, and his own circumstances. For, in his private letters, he owns, "That the malevolence and envy of the aristocratical "chiefs had almost driven him from his old principles, "and though not so far as to make him forget his dig- "nity, yet so as to take a proper care of his safety, "both which might be easily consistent, if there was "any faith or gravity in the consular senators: but "they had managed their matters so ill, that those "who were superior to them in power, were become "superior too in authority, so as to be able to carry "in the senate what they could not have carried e- "ven with the people without violence: that he had "learned from experience, what he could not learn so "well from books, that no regard was to be had to "our safety, without a regard also to our dignity; so "the consideration of dignity ought not to exclude "the care of our safety *." In another letter, he says,

re exercitum præda ante parta, et bellum conficere posse: sed decus illud et ornamentum triumphi minuendum nostra parsimonia non putavi.—

Et quas regiones, quasque gentes nullæ nobis antea literæ, nulla vox, nulla fama notas fecerat, has noster imperator, nosterque exercitus, et populi Romani arma peragrarunt.—De Prov. Consul. XI. 13.—

* Quorum malevolentissimis obtrectationibus nos scito de vetere illa nostra, diuturnaque sententia prope jam esse depulsos: non nos quidem

A. Urb. 697. Cic. 51. Coss.—Cn. Corn. Lent. Marcellinus. L. Mar. Philippus.

"That the state and form of the government was "quite changed, and what he had proposed to himself, as the end of all his toils, a dignity and liberty "of acting and voting, was quite lost and gone: that "there was nothing left, but either meanly to assent "to the few who governed all, or weakly to oppose "them, without doing any good: that he had dropt, "therefore, all thoughts of that old consular gravity "and character of a resolute senator, and resolved to "conform himself to Pompey's will; that his great "affection to Pompey, made him begin to think all "things right which were useful to him; and he comforted himself with reflecting, that the greatness of "his obligations would make all the world excuse "him for defending what Pompey liked, or at least "for not opposing it; or else, what of all things he "most desired, if his friendship with Pompey would "permit him, for retiring from public business, and "giving himself wholly up to his books †."

quidem ut nostræ dignitatis simus obliti, sed ut habeamus rationem aliquando etiam salutis. Poterat utrumque præclare, si esset fides, si gravitas in hominibus consularibus.—

Nam qui plus opibus, armis, potentia valent, profecisse tantum mihi videntur stultitia et inconstantia adversariorum, ut etiam auctoritate jam plus valerent.—quod ipse, literis omnibus a pueritia deditus, experiundo tamen magis, quam discendo cognovi;—neque salutis nostræ rationem habendam nobis esse sine dignitate, neque dignitatis sine salute.—Ep. fam 1. 7.

† Tantum enim animi inductio et mehercule amor erga Pompeium apud me valet, ut, quæ ille utilia sunt, et quæ ille vult, ea mihi omnia jam et recta et vera videantur—Me quidem illa res consolatur, quod ego is sum, cui vel maxime concedant omnes, ut vel ea defendam, quæ Pompeius velit, vel taceam, vel etiam, id quod

A. Urb. 697. Cic. 51. Coss.—Cn. Corn. Lent. Marcellinus. L. Mar. Philippus.

But he was now engaged in a cause in which he was warmly and specially interested, the defence of P. Sextius, the late tribune. Clodius, who gave Cicero's friends no respite, having himself undertaken Milo, assigned the prosecution of Sextius to one of his confidents, M. Tullius Albinovanus, who accused him of public violence, or breach of peace in his tribunate ‡. Sextius had been a true friend to Cicero in his distress, and borne a great part in his restoration; but as, in cases of eminent service, conferred jointly by many, every one is apt to claim the first merit, and expect the first share of praise; so Sextius, naturally morose, fancying himself neglected, or not sufficiently requited by Cicero, had behaved very churlishly towards him since his return: but Cicero, who was never forgetful of past kindnesses, instead of resenting his perverseness, having heard that Sextius was indisposed, went in person to his house, and cured him of all his jealousies, by freely offering his assistance and patronage in pleading his cause *.

quod mihi maxime lubet, ad nostra me studia referam litterarum; quod profecto faciam, si mihi per ejusdem amicitiam licebit.—

Quæ enim proposita fuerant nobis, cum et honoribus amplissimis, et laboribus maximis perfuncti essemus, dignitas in sententiis dicendis, libertas in rep. capessenda; ea sublata tota: sed nec mihi magis, quam omnibus. Nam aut assentiendum est nulla cum gravitate paucis, aut frustra dissentiendum. Ibid. 8.

‡ Qui cum omnibus salutis meæ defensoribus bellum sibi esse gerendum judicaverunt. Pr. Sext. 2.

* Is erat æger: domum, ut debuimus, ad eum statim venimus; eique nos totos tradidimus: idque fecimus præter hominum opinionem, qui nos ei jure succensere putabant, ut humanissimi gratissimique et ipsi et omnibus videremur: itaque faciemus. Ad Quint. 2. 3.

A. Urb. 697. Cic. 51. Cos.—Cn. Corn. Lent. Marcellinus. L. Mar. Philippus.

This was a disappointment to the prosecutors, who flattered themselves that Cicero was so much disgusted, that he would not be persuaded to plead for him; but he entered into the cause with a hearty inclination, and made it, as in effect it really was, his own †. In his speech, which is still extant, after laying open the history of his exile, and the motives of his own conduct through the whole progress of it, he shews, "That the only ground of prosecuting Sextius was, "his faithful adherence to him, or rather to the re- "public: that, by condemning Sextius, they would in "effect condemn him, whom all the orders of the city "had declared to be unjustly expelled by the very "same men who were now attempting to expel Sex- "tius: that it was a banter and ridicule on justice it- "self, to accuse a man of violence, who had been left "for dead upon the spot, by the violence of those who "accused him; and whose only crime it was, that he "would not suffer himself to be quite killed, but pre- "sumed to guard his life against their future at- "tempts." In short, he managed the cause so well, that Sextius was acquitted, and in a manner the most honourable, by the unanimous suffrages of all the judges, and with an universal applause of Cicero's humanity and gratitude ‡.

† P. Sextius est reus non suo sed meo nomine, &c. Pr. Sext. 13.

‡ Sextius noster absolutus est. A. D. II. Id. Mart. et quod vehementer interfuit reipub. nullam videri in ejusmodi causa dissensionem esse, omnibus sententiis absolutus est—Scito nos in eo judicio consecutos esse, ut omnium gratissimi judicaremur. Nam in defendendo homine moroso cumulatissime satisfecimus.—Ad Quint. 2. 4.—

A. Urb. 697. Cic. 51. Coss.—Cn. Corn. Lent. Marcellinus. L. Mar. Philippus.

Pompey attended this trial as a friend to Sextius; while Cæsar's creature, Vatinius, appeared not only as an adversary, but a witness against him: which gave Cicero an opportunity of lashing him, as Sextius particularly desired, with all the keenness of his raillery, to the great diversion of the audience; for, instead of interrogating him in the ordinary way, about the facts deposed in the trial, he contrived to teize him with a perpetual series of questions, which revived and exposed the iniquity of his factious tribunate, and the whole course of his profligate life, from his first appearance in public; and, in spite of all his impudence, quite daunted and confounded him. Vatinius, however, made some feeble effort to defend himself, and rally Cicero in his turn; and, among other things, reproached him with the baseness of changing sides, and becoming Cæsar's friend, on account of the fortunate state of his affairs; to which Cicero briskly replied, though Pompey himself stood by, that he still preferred the condition of Bibulus's consulship, which Vatinius thought abject and miserable, to the victories and triumphs of all men whatsoever. This speech against Vatinius is still remaining, under the title of the interrogation, and is nothing else but what Cicero himself calls it, a perpetual invective on the magistracy of Vatinius, and the conduct of those who supported him *.

* Vatinium, a quo palam oppugnabatur, arbitratu nostro concidimus, diis hominibusque plaudentibus.—Quid quæris? Homo petulans et audax Vatinius valde perturbatus, debilitatusque discessit.—Ib.

Ego

A. Urb. 697. Cic. 51. Coss.—Cn. Corn. Lent. Marcellinus. L. Mar. Philippus.

In the beginning of April, the senate granted the sum of three hundred thousand pounds to Pompey, to be laid out in puschasing corn for the use of the city; where there was still a great scarcity, and as great, at the same time, of money; so that the moving a point so tender, could not fail of raising some ill humour in the assembly; when Cicero, whose old spirit seems to have revived in him from his late success in Sextius's cause, surprised them by proposing, that, in the present inability of the treasury to purchase the Campanian lands, which by Cæsar's act were to be divided to the people, the act itself should be re-considered, and a day appointed for that deliberation; the motion was received with an universal joy, and a kind of tumultuary acclamation; the enemies of the Triumvirate were extremely pleased with it, in hopes that it would make a breach between Cicero and Pompey: but it served only for a proof, of what Cicero himself observes, that it is very hard for a man to depart from his old sentiments in politics, when they are right and just †.

Ego sedente Pompeio, cum ut laudaret P. Sextium introiisset in urbem, dixissetque testis Vatinius, me fortuna et felicitate C. Cæsaris commotum, illi amicum esse cœpisse; dixi, me eam Bibuli fortunam, quam ille afflictam putaret, omnium triumphis victoriisque anteferre.—Tota vero interrogatio mea nihil habuit, nisi reprehensionem illius tribunatus: in quo omnia dicta sunt libertate, animoque maximo. Ep. fam. 1. 9.

† Pompeio pecunia decreta in rem frumentariam ad HS. cccc. sed eodem die vehementer actum de agro Campano, clamore senatus prope concionali. Acriorem causam inopia pecuniæ faciebat, et annonæ caritas. Ad Quint. 2. 5.

Nonis

A. Urb. 697. Cic. 51. Coss.—Cn. Corn. Lent. Marcellinus, L. Mar. Philippus.

Pompey, whose nature was singularly reserved, expressed no uneasiness upon it, nor took any notice of it to Cicero, though they met and supped together familiarly, as they used to do: but he set forward soon after towards Africa, in order to provide corn; and intending to call at Sardinia, proposed to embark at Pisa or Leghorn, that he might have an interview with Cæsar, who was now at Luca, the utmost limit of his Gallic government. He found Cæsar exceedingly out of humour with Cicero; for Crassus had already been with him at Ravenna, and greatly incensed him by his account of Cicero's late motion; which he complained of so heavily, that Pompey promised to use all his authority, to induce Cicero to drop the pursuit of it; and, for that purpose, sent away an express to Rome, to entreat him not to proceed any farther in it till his return; and when he came afterwards to Sardinia, where his lieutenant, Q. Cicero, then resided, he entered immediately into an expostulation with him about it, "recounting all his services to his brother, "and that every thing which he had done for him, "was done with Cæsar's consent; and reminding him "of a former conversation between themselves, con-"cerning Cæsar's acts, and what Quintus himself had "undertaken for his brother on that head; and as he "then made himself answerable for him, so he was "now obliged to call him to the performance of those

[1] Nonis April. mihi est senatus assensus, ut de agro Campano, idibus Maiis, frequenti senatu referretur. Nam potui magis in arcem illius causæ invadere. Ep. Fam. 1. 9.

A. Urb. 697. Cic. 51. Coss.—Cn. Corn. Lent. Marcellinus. L. Mar. Philippus.

"engagements: in short, he begged of him to press "his brother, to support and defend Cæsar's interests "and dignity, or, if he could not persuade him to that, "to engage him, at least, not to act against them *."

This remonstrance from Pompey, enforced by his brother Quintus, staggered Cicero's resolution, and made him enter into a fresh deliberation with himself about the measures of his conduct; where, after casting up the sum of all his thoughts, and weighing every circumstance, which concerned either his own or the public interest, he determined at last to drop the affair, rather than expose himself again, in his present situation, to the animosity of Pompey and Cæsar; for which he makes the following apology to his friend Lentulus: "that those, who professed the same prin-"ciples, and were embarked in the same cause with "him, were perpetually envying and thwarting him, "and more disgusted by the splendour of his life, than "pleased with any thing which he did for the pub-

* Hoc S. C. in sententiam meam facto, Pompeius, cum mihi nihil ostendisset se esse offensum, in Sardiniam et in Africam profectus est, eoque itinere Lucam ad Cæsarem venit. Ibi multa de mea sententia questus est Cæsar, quippe qui etiam Ravennæ Crassum ante vidisset, ab eoque in me esset incensus. Sane moleste Pompeium id ferre constabat: quod ego, cum audissem ex aliis, maxime ex fratre meo cognovi; quem cum in Sardinia paucis post diebus, quam Luca discesserat, convenisset. Te, inquit, ipsum cupio; nihil opportunius potuit accidere: nisi cum Marco fratre diligenter egeris, dependendum tibi est, quod mihi pro illo spospondisti: quid multa? Questus est graviter: sua merita commemoravit: quid egisset sæpissime de actis Cæsaris cum meo fratre, quidque sibi is de me recepisset, in memoriam redegit: seque quæ de mea salute egisset, voluntate Cæsaris egisset, ipsum meum fratrem testatus est. Ibid.

A. Urb. 697. Cic. 51. Cos.—Cn. Corn. Lent. Marcellinus. Mar. Philippus.

" lic service: that their only pleasure, and what they " could not even dissemble, while he was acting with " them, was to see him disoblige Pompey, and make " Cæsar his enemy; when they, at the same time, " were continually caressing Clodius before his face, " on purpose to mortify him: that if the government " indeed had fallen into wicked and desperate hands, " neither hopes nor fears, nor gratitude itself could " have prevailed with him to join with them; but " when Pompey held the chief sway, who had acquir- " ed it by the most illustrious merit; whose dignity " he had always favoured from his first setting out in " the world, and from whom he had received the " greatest obligations; and who, at that very time, " made his enemy the common enemy of them both; " he had no reason to apprehend the charge of incon- " stancy, if, on some occasions, he voted and acted a " little differently from what he used to do, in com- " plaisance to such a friend: that his union with Pom- " pey necessarily included Cæsar, with whom both he " and his brother had a friendship also of long stand- " ing; which they were invited to renew by all man- " ner of civilities and good offices, freely offered on " Cæsar's part: that, after Cæsar's great exploits and " victories, the republic itself seemed to interpose and " forbid him to quarrel with such men: that when " he stood in need of their assistance, his brother had " engaged his word for him to Pompey, and Pompey " to Cæsar; and he thought himself obliged to make " good those engagements *.

* Qui cum illa sentirent in repub. quæ ego agebam, semperque sensissent;

A. Urb. 697. Cic. 51. Coss.—Cn. Corn. Lent. Marcellinus. L. Mar. Philippus.

This was the general state of his political behaviour: he had a much larger view, and more comprehensive knowledge both of men and things, than the other chiefs of the aristocracy, Bibulus, Marcellinus, Cato, Favonius, &c. whose stiffness had ruined their cause, and brought them into their present subjection by alienating Pompey and the equestrian order from the senate: they considered Cicero's management of the Triumvirate, as a mean submission to illegal power, which they were always opposing and irritating, though ever so unseasonably; whereas Cicero thought it time to give over fighting, when the forces were so unequal; and that the more patiently they suffered the dominion of their new masters, the more temperately they would use it †; being persuaded, that

sensissent; me tamen non satisfacere Pompeio, Cæsaremque inimicissimum mihi futurum, gaudere se aiebant: hoc mihi dolendum, sed illud multo magis, quod inimicum meum—sic amplexabantur—sic me præsente osculabantur—Ego si ab improbis et perditis civibus rempub. teneri videbam—Non modo præmiis—Sed ne periculis quidem ullis compulsus—Ad eorum causam me adjungerem, ne si summa quidem eorum in me merita constarent. Cum autem in repub. Cn. Pompeius princeps esset—meumque inimicum unum in civitate haberet inimicum, non putavi famam inconstantiæ mihi pertimescendam, si quibusdam in sententiis paullum me immutassem, meamque voluntatem ad summi viri, de meque optime meriti dignitatem aggregassem, &c. Gravissime autem me in hac mente impulit, et Pompeii fides, quam de me Cæsari dederat, et fratris mei, quam Pompeio—Ep. fam. 1. 9.

† Neque, ut ego arbitror, errarent, si cum pares esse non possent, pugnare desisterent.—

Commutata tota ratio est senatus, judiciorum, rei totius publicæ. Otium nobis exoptandum est: quod ii, qui potiuntur rerum, præstaturi videantur, si quidam homines patientius eorum potentiam ferè potuerint. Dignitatem quidem illam consularem fortis et constantis

A. Urb. 697. Cic. 51. Cos.—Cn. Corn. Lent. Marcellinus. L. Mar. Philippus.

Pompey at least, who was the head of them, had no designs against the public liberty, unless he were provoked and driven to it by the perverse opposition of his enemies ‡. These were the grounds of that complaisance which he now generally paid to him, for the sake both of his own and the public quiet: in consequence of which, when the appointed day came, for considering the case of the Campanian lands, the debate dropt of course, when it was understood, that Cicero, the mover of it, was absent and had changed his mind: though it was not, as he intimates, without some struggle, in his own breast, that he submitted to this step, which was likely to draw upon him an imputation of levity ||.

His daughter, Tullia, having now lived a widow about a year, was married to a second husband, Furius Crassipes; and the wedding feast held at Cicero's house on the sixth of April: we find very little said, of the character or condition of this Crassipes; but by Cicero's care in making the match, the fortune which he paid, and the congratulation of his friends upon it, he appears to have been a nobleman of principal rank and dignity §. Atticus also, who was about a year

stantis senatoris, nihil est, quod cogitemus. Amissa est culpa eorum, qui a senatu et ordinem conjunctissimum, et hominem clarissimum abalienarunt. Ibid. 8.

‡ Ep. Fam. 1. 9.

|| Quod idibus et postridie fuerat dictum, de agro Campano actum iri, non est actum. In hac causa mihi aqua hæret.—Ad Quint. 2. 8.

§ De nostra Tullia—spero nos cum Crassipede confecisse. Ib. 4. Quod mihi de Filia et de Crassipede gratularis—Speroque et opta

A. Urb. 697. Cic. 51. Cos.—Cn. Corn. Lent. Marcellinus. L. Mar. Philippus.

younger than Cicero, was married this spring to Pilia, and invited him to the wedding *. As to his domestic affairs, his chief care at present was about rebuilding three of his houses, which were demolished in his exile: and repairing the rest, with that also of his brother, out of which they were driven in the last attack of Clodius: by the hints, which he gives of them, they all seem to have been very magnificent, and built under the direction of the best architects: Clodius gave no farther interruption to them, being forced to quit the pursuit of Cicero, in order to watch the motions of a more dangerous enemy, Milo. Cicero however was not without a share of uneasiness, within his own walls; his brother's wife and his own, neither agreed well with each other, nor their own husbands: Quintus's was displeased at her husband's staying so long abroad; and Cicero's not disposed to make her's the happier for staying at home. His nephew also, young Quintus, a perverse youth, spoiled by a mother's indulgence, added somewhat to his trouble; for he was now charged with the care of his education, in the father's absence; and had him taught under his own eye by Tyrannio, a Greek master; who, with several other learned men of that country, was entertained in his house †.

to hanc conjunctionem nobis voluptati fore. Ep. Fam. 1. 7.
Viaticum Crassipes præripit. Ad Att. 4. 5.

* Prid. Id hæc scripsi ante lucem. Eo die apud Pomponium in ejus nuptiis eram cænaturus. Ad Quint. 2. 3.

† Domus utriusque nostrum ædificatur strenue.—Ib. 4. Longilium

A. Urb. 697. Cic. 51. Coss.—Cn. Corn. Lent. Marcellinus. L. Mar. Philipus.

King Ptolemy's affair was no more talked of; Pompey had other business upon his hands, and was so ruffled by the tribune Cato, and the consul Marcellinus, that he laid aside all thoughts of it for himself, and wished to serve Lentulus in it. The senate had passed a vote against restoring him at all; but one of the tribunes inhibited them from proceeding to a decree; and a former decree was actually subsisting in favour of Lentulus: Cicero, therefore, after a consultation with Pompey, sent him their joint and last advice; "that, by his command of a province so near "to Egypt, as he was the best judge of what he was "able to do; so if he found himself master of the thing, "and was assured of success, he might leave the king "at Ptolemais, or some other neighbouring city, and "proceed without him to Alexandria; where, if by "the influence of his fleet and troops he could appease "the public dissensions, and persuade the inhabitants "to receive their king peaceably, he might then car-"ry him home, and so restore him according to the "first decree; yet without a multitude, as our reli-"gious men," says he, "tell us the Sibyl has injoined: "—that it was the opinion however of them both,

ilium redemptorem cohortatus sum. Fidem mihi faciebat, se velle nobis placere. Domus erit egregia. ib. 6.

Quintus tuus, puer optimus, eruditur egregie. Hoc nunc magis animadverto, quod Tyrannio docet apud me.—Ib. 4.

A. D. VIII. Id. Apr. Sponsalia Crassipedi præbui. Huic convivio puer optimus, Quintus tuus, quod perleviter commotus fuerat, defuit.—Multum is mecum sermonem habuit et perhumanum de discordiis mulierum nostrarum—Pomponia autem etiam de te questa est.—Ib. 6.

A. Urb. 697. Cic. 51. Coss.—Cn. Corn Lent. Marcellinus. L. Mar. Philippus.

" that people would judge of the fact by the event: " if he was certain therefore of carrying his point, he " should not defer it; if doubtful, should not under- " take it: for as the world would applaud him, if he " effected it with ease, so a miscarriage would be fatal, " on account of the late vote of the senate, and the " scruple about religion *." But Lentulus, wisely judging the affair too hazardous for one of his dignity and fortunes, left it to a man of a more desperate character, Gabinius; who ruined himself soon after by embarking in it.

The tribune Cato, who was perpetually inveighing against keeping gladiators, like so many standing armies, to the terror of the citizens, had lately bought a band of them, but finding himself unable to maintain them, was contriving to part with them again without noise or scandal. Milo got notice of it, and privately employed a person, not one of his own friends, to buy them; and when they were purchased, Racilius, another tribune, taking the matter upon himself, and pretending that they were bought for him, published a

* Te perspicere posse, qui Ciliciam Cyprumque teneas, quid efficere et quid consequi possis, et, si res facultatem habitura videatur, ut Alexandriam atque Ægyptum tenere possis, esse et tuæ et nostri imperii dignitatis, Ptolemaide, aut aliquo propinquo loco rege collocato, te cum classe, atque exercita proficisci Alexandriam: ut eam cum pace, præsidiisque firmaris, Ptolemæus redeat in regnum: ita fore, ut per te restituatur, quemadmodum senatus initio censuit; et sine multitudine reducatur, quemadmodum homines religiosi Sibyllæ placere dixerunt. Sed hæc sententia sic et illi et nobis probabatur, ut ex eventu homines de tuo consilio existimaturos videremus. Nos quidem hoc sentimus; si exploratum tibi sit, posse te regni illius potiri; non esse cunctandum: si dubium, non esse conandum, &c. Ep. Fam. 1. 7.

A. Urb. 697. Cic. 51. Coss.—Cn. Corn. Lent. Marcellinus. L. Mar. Philippus.

proclamation, that Cato's family of gladiators was to be sold by auction; which gave no small diversion to the auction †.

Milo's trial being put off to the fifth of May, Cicero took the benefit of a short vacation, to make an excursion into the country, and visit his estates and villas in different parts of Italy. He spent five days at Arpinum, whence he proceeded to his other houses at Pompeiæ and Cumæ; and stopt a while, on his return, at Antium, where he had lately rebuilt his house, and was now disposing and ordering his library, by the direction of Tyrannio; "the remains of which," he says, "were more considerable than he expected from the "late ruin." Atticus lent him two of his librarians to assist his own, in taking catalogues, and placing the books in order; which he calls "the infusion of a soul "into the body of his house *." During this tour, his old enemy, Gabinius, the proconsul of Syria, having gained some advantage in Judea against Aristobulus,

† Ille vindex gladiatorum et bestiariorum emerat—bestiarios. Hos alere non poterat. Itaque vix tenebat. Sensit Milo, dedit cuidam non familiari negotium, qui sine suspicione emeret eam familiam a Catone: quæ simulatque abducta est, Racilius rem patefecit, eosque homines sibi emptos esse dixit—et tabulam proscripsit, se familiam Catonianam venditurum. In eam tabulam magni risus consequebantur. Ad Quin. 6.

* Offendes designationem Tyrannionis mirificam in librorum meorum Bibliotheca; quorum reliquiæ multo meliores sunt quam putaram. Etiam vellem mihi mittas de tuis librariolis duos aliquos, quibus Tyrannio utatur glutinatoribus, et ad cætera administris. Ad Att. 4. 4.

Postea vero quam Tyrannio mihi libros disposuit, mens addita videtur meis ædibus: qua quidem in re, mirifica opera Dionysii et Menophili tui fuit. Ib. 8.

who had been dethroned by Pompey, and on that account was raising troubles in the country, sent public letters to the senate, to give an account of his victory, and to beg the decree of a thanksgiving for it. His friends took the opportunity of moving the affair in Cicero's absence, from whose authority they apprehended some obstruction; but the senate, in a full house, slighted his letters and rejected his suit: an affront which had never been offered before to any proconsul. Cicero was infinitely delighted with it, calls the resolution divine, and was doubly pleased for its being the free and genuine judgment of the senate, without any struggle or influence on his part; and, reproaching Gabinius with it afterwards, says, that by this act the senate had declared, that they could not believe that he, whom they had always known to be a traitor at home, could ever do any thing abroad that was useful to the republic *.

Many prodigies were reported to have happened about this time, in the neighbourhood of Rome: horrible noises under ground, with clashing of arms; and on the Alban hill, a little shrine of Juno, which stood on a table facing the east, turned suddenly of itself towards the north. These terrors alarmed the city,

* Id. Maiis senatus frequens divinus fuit in supplicatione Gabinio deneganda. Adjurat Procilius hoc nemini accidisse. Foris valde plauditur. Mihi cum sua sponte jucundum, tum jucundius, quod me absente, est enim αλικρινὲς judicium, sine oppugnatione, sine gratia nostra. Ad Quin. 2. 8. § 4. 5.

Hoc statuit senatus, cum frequens supplicationem Gabinio denegavit. A proditore, atque eo, quem præsentem hostem reimpub. cognoscit bene reipub. geri non potuisse. De Prov. Consul. 6.

A. Urb. 697. Cic. 51. Coss.—Cn. Corn. Lent. Marcellinus. L. Mar. Philippus.

and the senate consulted the haruspices, who were the publie diviners or prophets of the state, skilled in all the Tuscan discipline of interpreting portentous events; who gave the following answer in writing:—"That supplications must be made to Jupiter, Saturn, "Neptune, and the other gods: that the solemn shews "and plays had been negligently exhibited and pol-"luted: sacred and religious places made profane: "ambassadors killed, contrary to right and law: faith "and oaths disregarded: ancient and hidden sacrifi-"ces carelessly performed and profaned:—That the "gods gave this warning, lest, by the discord and dis-"sension of the better sort, dangers and destruction "should fall upon the senate and the chiefs of the ci-"ty; by which means the provinces would fall under "the power of a single person; their armies be beaten, "great loss ensue; and honours be heaped on the un-"worthy and disgraced *."——

One may observe, from this answer, that the diviners were under the direction of those who endeavoured to apply the influence of religion to the cure of their civil disorders: each party interpreted it according to their own views: Clodius took a handle from it of venting his spleen afresh against Cicero; and, calling the people together for that purpose, attempted to persuade them, "that this divine admonition was design-"ed particularly against him; and that the article of "the sacred and religious places referred to the case

* Vid. Argum. Manutii in Orat. Harusp. respons. Dio, l. 39. p. 100.

A. Urb. 697. Cic. 51. Coss.—Cn. Corn. Lent. Marcellinus. L. Mar. Philippus.

" of his house; which, after a solemn consecration to " religion, was rendered again profane; charging all " the displeasure of the gods to Cicero's account, who " affected nothing less than a tyranny, and the op- " pression of their liberties *."

Cicero made a reply to Clodius the next day in the senate; where, after a short and general invective upon his profligate life, " he leaves him," he says, " a " devoted victim to Milo, who seemed to be given to " them by heaven, for the extinction of such a plague; " as Scipio was for the destruction of Carthage: he " declares the prodigy to be one of the most extraor- " dinary which had ever been reported to the senate; " but laughs at the absurdity of applying any part of " it to him; since his house, as he proves at large, was " more solemnly cleared from any service or relation " to religion, than any other house in Rome, by the " judgment of the priests, the senate, and all the or- " ders of the city †." Then, running through the se- " veral articles of the answer, " he shews them all to " tally so exactly with the notorious acts and impieties " of Clodius's life, that they could not possibly be ap- " plied to any thing else——that as to the sports, " said to be negligently performed and polluted, it " clearly denoted the pollution of the Megalensian " play; the most venerable and religious of all other " shews; which Clodius himself, as ædile, exhibited " in honour of the mother of the gods; where, when " the magistrates and citizens were seated to partake

* Dio. Ibid. † De Haruspic. responsis.

A. Urb. 697. Cic. 51. Cos.—Cn. Corn. Lent. Marcellinus. L. Mar. Philippus.

"of the diversions, and the usual proclamation was "made, to command all slaves to retire; a vast body "of them, gathered from all parts of the city, by the "order of Clodius, forced their way upon the stage, "to the great terror of the assembly; where much "mischief and bloodshed would have ensued, if the "consul Marcellinus, by his firmness and presence of "mind, had not quieted the tumult: and in another "representation of the same plays the slaves, encour-"aged again by Clodius, were so audacious and suc-"cessful in a second irruption, that they drove the "whole company out of the theatre, and possessed it "entirely themselves *: that as to the profanation "of sacred and religious places, it could not be in-"terpreted of any thing so aptly, as of what Clodius "and his friends had done: for that in the house of "Q. Seius, which he had bought after murthering the "owner, there was a chapel and altars which he had "lately demolished; that L. Piso had destroyed a "celebrated chapel of Diana, where all that neigh-"bourhood, and some of the senate, used annually to "perform their family sacrifices: that Serranus also "had thrown down, burnt, and profaned several con-"secrated chapels, and raised other buildings upon "them †: that as to ambassadors killed contrary to "law and right; though it was commonly interpreted "of those from Alexandria, yet other ambassadors had "been murthered, whose death was no less offensive

* De Haruspic. responsis, 10. 11. 12. 13.
† Ibid. 14. 15.

A. Urb. 51. Ces. 693. Cic. Cn. Corn. Lent. Marcellinus. L. Mar. Philippus.

"to the gods; as Theodosius, killed with the privity "and permission of Clodius; and Plato, by the order "of Piso *: As to the violation of faith and oaths, that "it related evidently to those judges who had absolv-"ed Clodius; as being one of the most memorable "and flagrant perjuries which Rome had ever known; "that the answer itself suggested this interpretation, "when it subjoined, that ancient and occult sacrifices "were polluted; which could refer to nothing so pro-"perly as to the rites of the Bona Dea; which were "the most ancient and most occult of any in the city; "celebrated with incredible secrecy to that goddess, "whose name it was not lawful for men to know; "and with ceremonies, which no man ever pried into, "but Clodius †. Then as to the warning, given by "the gods, of dangers likely to ensue from the dissen-"sions of the principal citizens; that there was no "man so particularly active in promoting those dis-"sensions, as Clodius; who was perpetually enflaming "one side or the other; now pursuing popular, now "aristocratical measures; at one time a favourite of "the Triumvirate, at another of the senate; whose "credit was wholly supported by their quarrels and "animosities. He exhorts them therefore in the con-"clusion, to beware of falling into those miseries, of "which the gods so evidently forwarned them; and "to take care especially, that the form of the repub-"lic was not altered; since all civil contests between

* Ibid. 16.
† Ibid. 17. 18.

A. Urb. 697. Cic. 51. Coss.—Cn. Corn. Lent. Marcellinus. L. Mar. Philippus.

"great and powerful citizens must necessarily end, "either in an universal destruction, or a tyranny of "the conqueror: that the state was now in so totter- "ing a condition, that nothing could preserve it but "their concord: that there was no hope of it's being "better, while Clodius remained unpunished; and but "one degree left of being worse, by being wholly "ruined and enslaved; for the prevention of which, "the gods had given them this remarkable admoni- "tion; for they were not to believe, what was some- "times represented on the stage, that any god ever "descended from heaven to converse familiarly with "men; but that these extraordinary sounds and agi- "tations of the world, the air, the elements, were the "only voice and speech which heaven made use of; "that these admonished them of their danger, and "pointed out the remedy; and that the gods, by in- "timating so freely the way of their safety, had shewn "how easy it would be to pacify them, by pacifying "only their own animosities and discords among them- "selves."

About the middle of the summer, and before the time of chusing new consuls, which was commonly in August, the senate began to deliberate on the provinces which were to be assigned to them at the expiration of their office. The consular provinces, about which the debate singly turned, were the two Gauls, which Cæsar now held; Macedonia, which Piso, and Syria, which Gabinius possessed. All who spoke before Cicero, excepting Servilius, were for taking one or both the Gauls from Cæsar; which was what the

A. Urb. 697. Cic. 51. Cos.—Cn. Corn. Lent. Marcellinus. L. Mar. Philippus.

senate generally desired: but when it came to Cicero's turn, he gladly laid hold on the occasion to revenge himself on Piso and Gabinius; and exerted all his authority, to get them recalled with some marks of disgrace, and their government assigned to the succeeding consuls; but as for Cæsar, his opinion was, "that his command should be continued to him till "he had finished the war, which he was carrying on "with such success, and settled the conquered coun-"tries." This gave no small offence; and the consul Philippus could not forbear interrupting and reminding him, "that he had more reason to be angry "with Cæsar, than with Gabinius himself; since Cæ-"sar was the author and raiser of all that storm which "had oppressed him." But Cicero replied, "that, in "this vote, he was not pursuing his private resent-"ment, but the public good, which had reconciled "him to Cæsar; and that he could not be an enemy "to one who was deserving so well of his country: "that a year or two more would complete his con-"quests, and reduce all Gaul to a state of peaceful "subjection: that the cause was widely different be-"tween Cæsar and the other two; that Cæsar's admi-"nistration was beneficial, prosperous, glorious to the "republic; theirs, scandalous, ignominious, hurtful to "their subjects, and contemptible to their enemies." ——In short, he managed the debate so, that the senate came fully into his sentiments, and decreed the revocation of Piso and Gabinius *.

* Itaque ego idem, qui nunc consulibus iis, qui designati erunt,

A. Urb. 697. Cic. 51. Cos.—Cn. Corn. Lent. Marcellinus. L. Mar. Philippus.

He was now likewise engaged in pleading two considerable causes at the bar; the one in defence of Cornelius Balbus, the other of M. Cælius. Balbus was a native of Gades in Spain, of a splendid family in that city, who, for his fidelity and services to the Roman generals in that province, and especially in the Sertorian war, had the freedom of Rome conferred upon him by Pompey, in virtue of a law, which authorised him to grant it to as many as he thought proper. But Pompey's act was now called in question, as originally null and invalid, on a pretence, that the city of Gades was not within the terms of that alliance and relation to Rome, which rendered it's citizens capable of that privilege. Pompey and Crassus were his advocates, and at their desire, Cicero also; who had the third place, or post of honour assigned to him, to give the finishing hand to the cause †. The prosecution was projected, not so much out of enmity to Balbus, as to

Syriam, Macedoniamque decerno—Quod si essent illi optimi viri, tamen ego meæ sententiæ C. Cæsari nondum succedendum putarem. Quæ de re dicam, patres conscripti, quod sentio, atque illam interpellationem familiarissimi mei, qua nullo ante interrupta est oratio mea, non pertimescam. Negat me vir optimus inimiciorem debere esse Gabinio, quam Cæsari; omnem enim illam tempestatem, cui cesserim, Cæsare impulsore atque adjutore esse excitatam. Cui si primum sic respondeam, me communis utilitatis habere rationem, non doloris mei.—Hic me meus in rempub. animus pristinus ac perennis, cum C. Cæsare reducit, reconciliat, restituit in gratiam. Quod volent denique homines existiment, neminî ego possum esse bene de republica merenti non amicus.—Vid. Orat. de Provin. Cons. 8, 9, &c.

† Quo mihi difficilior est hic extremus perorandi locus.—Sed nos est gerendus; non modo Cornelio, cujus ego voluntati in ejus periculis nullo modo deesse possum; sed etiam Cn. Pompeio.—Pr. Balbo. 1, 2, &c.

A. Urb. 697. Cic. 51. Cos.—Ch. Corn. Lent. Marcellinus. L. Mar. Philippus.

his patrons Pompey and Cæsar; by whose favour he had acquired great wealth and power; being at this time general of the artillery to Cæsar, and the principal manager or steward of all his affairs. The judges gave sentence for him, and confirmed his right to the city; from which foundation he was raised afterwards by Augustus, to the consulate itself; his nephew also, young Balbus, who was made free with him at the same time, obtained the honour of a triumph, for his victories over the Garamantes; and, as Pliny tells us, they were the only instances of foreigners, and adopted citizens, who had ever advanced themselves to either of those honours in Rome †.

Cælius, whom he next defended, was a young gentleman of equestrian rank, of great parts and accomplishments, trained under the discipline of Cicero himself; to whose care he was committed by his father, upon his first introduction into the forum: before he was of age to hold any magistracy, he had distinguished himself by two public impeachments; the one of C. Antonius, Cicero's colleague in the consulship, for conspiring against the state; the other of L. Atratinus, for bribery and corruption. Atratinus's son was now revenging his father's quarrel, and accused Cælius of public violence, for being concerned in the assassination of Dio, the chief of the Alexandrian embassy;

† Fuit et Balbus Cornelius major consul.—Primus externorum, atque etiam in oceano genitorum usus illo honore.—Hist. N. 7. 43.

Garama caput Garamantum: omnia armis Romanis superata, et a Cornelio Balbo triumphata, uno omnium externo curru se quiritium jure donato: quippe Gadibus nato civitas Rom. cum Balbo majore patruo data est. Ib. 5. 5.

A. Urb. 697. Cic. 51. Coss.—Cn. Corn. Lent. Marcellinus. L. Mar. Philippus.

and of an attempt to poison Clodia, the sister of Clodius: he had been this lady's gallant; whose resentment for her favours slighted by him, was the real source of all his trouble. In this speech, Cicero treats the character and gallantries of Clodia, her commerce with Cælius, and the gaieties and licentiousness of youth, with such a vivacity of wit and humour, that makes it one of the most entertaining which he has left to us. Cælius, who was truly a libertine, lived on the Palatine hill, in a house which he hired of Clodius, and among the other proofs of his extravagance, it was objected, that a young man, in no public employment, should take a separate house from his father, at the yearly rent of two hundred and fifty pounds: to which Cicero replied, that Clodius, he perceived, had a mind to sell his house, by setting the value of it so high; whereas in truth, it was but a little paultry dwelling, of small rent, scarce above eighty pounds per annum *. Cælius was acquitted, and ever after professed the highest regard for Cicero; with whom he held a correspondence of letters, which will give us occasion to speak more of him in the sequel of the history.

Cicero seems to have composed a little poem about this time, in compliment to Cæsar; and excuses his not sending it to Atticus, "because Cæsar pressed to "have it, and he had reserved no copy: though, to

* Sumptus unius generis objectus est, habitationis: triginta millibus dixistis eum habitare. Nunc demum intelligo P. Clodii insulam esse venalem, cujus hic in ædiculis habitet, decem, ut opinor, millibus.—Pro Cælio. 7.

A. Urb. 697. Cic. 51. Cos.—Cn. Corn. Lent. Marcellinus. L. Mar. Philippus.

" confess the truth, he says, he found it very difficult " to digest the meanness of recanting his old prin- " ciples. But adieu, says he, to all right, true, ho- " nest councils: it is incredible what perfidy there is " in those who want to be leaders, and who really " would be so, if there was any faith in them. I felt " what they were to my cost, when I was drawn in, " deserted, and betrayed by them: I resolved still to " act on with them in all things, but found them the " same as before, till, by your advice, I came at last " to a better mind. You will tell me that you ad- " vised me indeed to act, but not to write; it is true; " but I was willing to put myself under a necessity of " adhering to my new alliance, and preclude the pos- " sibility of returning to those who, instead of pitying " me, as they ought, never cease envying me.—— " But since those who have no power will not love " me, my business is to acquire the love of those who " have: you will say, I wish that you had done it " long ago; I know you wished it, and I was a mere " ass for not minding you *."

* Urgebar ab eo, ad quem misi, et non habebam exemplar: quid? etiam, (dudum circumrodo, quod devorandum est) subturpicula mihi videbatur παλινῳδία; sed valeant recta, vera, honesta consilia. Non est credibile, quæ sit perfidia in istis principibus, ut volunt esse, et ut essent, si quicquam haberent fidei. Senseram, noram, inductus, relictus, projectus ab iis: tamen hoc erat in animo, ut cum iis in rep. consentirem. Iidem erant, qui fuerant. Vix aliquando te auctore resipivi. Dices, ea te monuisse, quæ facerem, non etiam ut scriberem. Ego mehercule mihi necessitatem volui imponere hujus novæ conjunctionis, ne qua mihi liceret labi ad illos, qui etiam tum cum misereri mei debent, non desinunt invidere. Sed tamen

A. Urb. 697. Cic. 51. Coss.—Ca. Corn. Lent. Marcellinus. L. Mar. Philippus.

In this year also, Cicero wrote that celebrated letter to Lucceius, in which he presses him to attempt the history of his transactions: Lucceius was a man of eminent learning and abilities, and had just finished the history of the Italic and Marian civil wars, with intent to carry it down through his own times, and in the general relation to include, as he had promised, a particular account of Cicero's acts: but Cicero, who was pleased with his stile and manner of writing, labours to engage him in this letter, to postpone the design of his continued history, and enter directly on that separate period, "from the beginning of his consulship to his restoration, comprehending Catiline's "conspiracy, and his own exile." He observes, "that "this short interval was distinguished with such a variety of incidents, and unexpected turns of fortune, "as furnished the happiest materials, both to the skill "of the writer and the entertainment of the reader; "that, when an author's attention was confined to a "single and select subject, he was more capable of "adorning it, and displaying his talents, than in the "wide and diffusive field of general history; but if he "did not think the facts themselves worth the pains "of adorning, that he would yet allow so much to "friendship, to affection, and even to that favour, "which he had so laudably disclaimed in his prefaces,

tamen modici fuimus [illegible], ut scripsi.—Sed quoniam qui nihil possunt, ii me amare nolunt; demus operam, ut ab iis, qui possunt, diligamur: dices, vellem jampridem. Scio te voluisse, et me asinum germanum fuisse.—Ad Att. 4, 5.

Scribis poema ab eo nostrum probari.—Ad Quint. 2. 15.

A. Urb. 697. Cic. 51. Cos.—Cn. Corn. Lent. Marcellinus. L. Mar. Philippus.

"as not to confine himself scrupulously to the strict "laws of history, and the rules of truth.——That, if "he would undertake it, he would supply him with "some rough memoirs, or commentaries, for the foun- "dation of his work; if not, that he himself should be "forced to do what many had done before him, write "his own life; a task, liable to many exceptions and "difficulties, where a man would necessarily be re- "strained by modesty, on the one hand, or partiality "on the other, either from blaming or praising him- "self so much as he deserved." &c. *.

This letter is constantly alleged as a proof of Cicero's vanity, and excessive love of praise; but we must consider it as written, not by a philosopher, but a statesman, conscious of the greatest services to his country, for which he had been barbarously treated, and, on that account, the more eager to have them represented in an advantageous light, and impatient to taste some part of that glory when living, which he was sure to reap from them when dead; and as to the passage which gives the offence, where he presses his friend to exceed even the bounds of truth in his praises, it is urged only, we see, conditionally, and upon an absurd or improbable supposition, that Lucceius did not think the acts themselves really laudable, or worth praising: But whatever exceptions there may be to the morality, there can be none to the elegance and composition of the letter, which is filled with a variety of beautiful sentiments, illustrated by exam-

* Ep. fam. 12.

A. Urb. 697. Cic. 51. Coss.—Cn. Corn. Lent. Marcellinus. L. Mar. Philippus.

ples drawn from a perfect knowledge of history; so that it is justly ranked among the capital pieces of the epistolary kind, which remain to us from antiquity. Cicero had employed more than ordinary pains upon it, and was pleased with his success in it: for he mentions it to Atticus with no small satisfaction, and wished him to get a copy of it from their friend Lucceius. The effect of it was, that Lucceius undertook what Cicero desired, and probably made some progress in it, since Cicero sent him the memoirs which he promised, and Lucceius lived many years after, in an uninterrupted friendship with him, though neither this, nor any other of his writings, had the fortune to be preserved to succeeding ages *.

All people's eyes and inclinations began now to turn towards Cæsar, who by the eclat of his victories, seemed to rival the fame of Pompey himself; and, by his address and generosity, gained ground upon him daily in authority and influence in public affairs. He spent the winter at Luca; whither a vast concourse of all ranks resorted to him from Rome. Here Pompey and Crassus were again made friends by him; and a project formed, that they should jointly seize the consulship for the next year, though they had not declared themselves candidates within the usual time. L. Domitius Ahenobarbus, a professed enemy, was one of the competitors; who, thinking himself sure of success,

* Epistolam, Lucceio quam misi—fac ut ab eo sumas: valde bella est: eumque ut adproperet adhorteris, et, quod mihi se ita facturum rescripsit, agas gratias. Ad Att. 4. 6.

Tu Lucceio librum nostrum dabis. Ibid. 11.

A. Urb. 697. Cic. 51. Coss.—Cn. Corn. Lent. Marcellinus. L. Mar. Philippus.

could not forbear bragging, that he would effect, when consul, what he could not do when prætor, rescind Cæsar's acts, and recal him from his government *; which made them resolve, at all hazards, to defeat him. What greatly favoured their design, was, the obstinacy of the tribune, C. Cato; who, to revenge himself on Marcellinus, for not suffering him to hold any assemblies of the people, for promulgating his laws, would not suffer the consuls to hold any, for the choice of the magistrates †. The Triumvirate supported him in this resolution till the year expired, and the government fell into an Inter-regnum; when, by faction and violence, and the terror of troops poured into the city, they extorted the consulship out of the hands of Domitius, and secured it to themselves ‡. This made Pompey generally odious, who, in all this height of greatness, could not defend himself from the perpetual railleries and insults of his adversaries; which yet he bore with singular temper and patience. Marcellinus was constantly alarming the city with the danger of his power; and as he was haranguing one day on that subject, being encouraged by a general acclamation

* Sed cum L. Domitius consulatus candidatus palam minaretur, consulem se effecturum, quod prætor nequisset, adempturumque ei exercitus. Crassum Pompeiumque in urbem provinciæ suæ Lucam extractos compulit, ut detrudendi Domitii causa alterum consulatum peterent. Sueton. J. Cæs. 24.

† Consul—dies comitiales exemit omnes—C. Cato concionatus est, comitia haberi non siturum, si sibi cum populo agendi dies essent exempti. Ad Quint. 2. 6.

‡ Quid enim hoc miserius, quam eum, qui tot annos, quod habet, designatus consul fuerit, consulem fieri non posse? &c. Ad Att. 4. 8. Vid. Dio. p. 103.

A. Urb. 697. Cic. 51. Cos.—Cn. Corn. Lent. Marcellinus. L. Mar. Philippus.

of the people; "cry out, citizens," says he, "cry out "while you may; for it will not be long in your pow- "er to do so with safety *." Cn. Piso also, a young nobleman, who had impeached Manilius Crispus, a man of prætorian rank, and notoriously guilty, being provoked by Pompey's protection of him, turned his attack against Pompey himself, and charged him with many crimes against the state; being asked, therefore, by Pompey, why he did not choose to impeach him rather than the criminal, he replied briskly, that if he would give bail to stand a trial, without raising a civil war, he would soon bring him before his judges †.

A. Urb. 698. Cic. 52. Cos.—Cn. Pompeius Magnus II. M. Licinus Crassus II.

DURING the continuance of these tumults, occasioned by the election of the new consuls, Cicero retired into the country; where he staid to the beginning of May, much out of humour, and disgusted both with the republic and himself. Atticus's constant advice to him was, to consult his safety and interest, by uniting himself with the men of power; and they, on their part, were as constantly inviting him to it, by all possible assurances of their affection: but in his answers to Atticus he observes: "that their two cases "were very different; that Atticus, having no pecu-

* Acclamato, inquit, Quirites, acclamate, dum licet: jam enim vobis impune facere non licebit. Val. Max. 6. 2.

† Da, inquit, prædes reip. te, si postulatus fueris, civile bellum non excitaturum; etiam de tuo prius, quam de Manilii capite, in concilium judices mittam. Ibid.

A. Urb. 698. Cic. 52. Cos.—Cn. Pompeius Magnus II. M. Licinius Crassus II.

"liar character, suffered no peculiar indignity; no-
"thing but what was common to all the citizens;
"whereas his own condition was such, that if he spoke
"what he ought to do, he should be looked upon as
"a madman; if what was useful only to himself, as a
"slave; if nothing at all, as quite oppressed and sub-
"dued: that his uneasiness was the greater, because
"he could not shew it without being thought ungrate-
"ful:—Shall I withdraw myself then," says he, "from
"business, and retire to the port of ease? That will
"not be allowed to me. Shall I follow these leaders
"to the wars, and, after having refused to command,
"submit to be commanded? I will do so; for I see
"that it is your advice, and wish that I had always
"followed it: or, shall I resume my post, and enter
"again into affairs? I cannot persuade myself to that,
"but begin to think Philoxenus in the right; who
"chose to be carried back to prison, rather than com-
"mend the tyrant's verses. This is what I am now
"meditating; to declare my dislike at least of what
"they are doing *."

* Tu quidem, etsi es natura πολλαχῆς, tamen nullam habes propriam servitutem; communi frueris nomine. Ego vero, qui, si loquor de repub. quod oportet, insanus; si quod opus est, servus existimor; si taceo, oppressus et captus; quo dolore esse debeo? quo sum scilicet hoc etiam acriore, quod ne dolere quidem possum, ut non ingratus videar. Quid si cessare libeat et in otii portum confugere? Nequicquam. Immo etiam in bellum et in castra: ergo erimus ἀναδοί, qui ταγοὶ esse noluimus? Sic faciendum est; tibi enim ipsi, cui utinam semper paruissem, sic video placere. Reliqui est, Σπάρτην ἔλαχες, ταύτην κόσμει; non mehercule possum: et Philoxeno ignosco, qui reduci in carcerem maluit. Veruntamen id ipsum

A. Urb. 698. Cic. 52. Cos.—Cn. Pompeius Magnus II. M. Licinius Crassus II.

Such were the agitations of his mind at this time, as he frequently signifies in his letters: he was now at one of his villas on the delightful shore of Baiæ, the chief place of resort and pleasure for the great and rich: Pompey came thither in April, and no sooner arrived, than he sent him his compliments, and spent his whole time with him: they had much discourse on public affairs, in which Pompey expressed great uneasiness, and owned himself dissatisfied with his own part in them; but Cicero, in his account of the conversation, intimates some suspicion of his sincerity †. In the midst of this company and diversion, Cicero's entertainment was in his studies; for he never resided any where without securing to himself the use of a good library: here he had the command of Faustus's, the son of Sylla, and son-in-law of Pompey; one of the best collections of Italy; gathered from the spoils of Greece, and especially of Athens, from which Sylla brought away many thousand volumes. He had no body in the house with him, but Dionysius, a learned Greek slave, whom Atticus had made free, and who was entrusted with the instruction of

sum mecum in his locis commentor, ut ista improbem.—Ad. Att. 4. 6.

The story of Dionysius the tyrant of Syracuse, and Philoxenus the poet, is told by Diodorus Siculus. Lib. 15. p. 331.

† Pompeius in Cumanum Parilibus venit: misit ad me statim qui salutem nunciaret: ad eum postridie mane vadebam——Ad Att. 4, x.

Nos hic cum Pompeio fuimus: sane sibi displicens ut loquebatur; sic est enim in hoc homine dicendum.—In nos vero suavissime effusus; venit etiam ad me in Cumanum.—Ib. 9.

A. Urb. 698. Cic. 52. Cos.—Cn. Pompeius Magnus II. M. Licinius Crassus II.

the two young Ciceros, the son and the nephew: "with this companion he was devouring books, since "the wretched state of the public had deprived him, "as he tells us, of all other pleasures. "I had much "rather," says he to Atticus, "be sitting on your lit-"tle bench under Aristotle's picture, than in the cu-"rule chairs of our great ones; or taking a turn with "you in your walks, than with him whom it must, "I see, be my fate to walk with: as for the success "of that walk, let fortune look to it, or some god, if "there be any, who takes care of us ‡." He mentions in the same letter a current report at Puteoli, that king Ptolemy was restored; and desires to know what account they had of it at Rome: the report was very true; for Gabinius, tempted by Ptolemy's gold and the plunder of Egypt; and encouraged also, as some write, by Pompey himself, undertook to replace him on the throne with his Syrian army; which he executed with a high hand, and the destruction of all the king's enemies; in open defiance of the authority of the senate and the direction of the sibyl: this made a great noise at Rome, and irritated the people to such a degree, that they resolved

‡ Ego hic pascor Bibliotheca Fausti. Fortasse tu putabas his rebus Puteolanis et Lucrinensibus. Ne ista quidem desunt. Sed mehercule a cæteris oblectationibus deseror et voluptatibus propter rempub. sic literis sustentor et recreor; maloque in illa tua sedecula, quam habes sub imagine Aristotelis, sedere, quam in istorum sella curuli; tecumque apud te ambulare, quam cum eo, quocum video esse ambulandum. Sed de illa ambulatione fors videret, aut si qui est, qui curet, Deus. Ib. 10.

Nos hic voramus literas cum homine mirifico, ita mehercule sentio, Dionysio. Ib. 11.

A. Urb. 698. Cic. 52. Cos.—Cn. Pompeius Magnus II. M. Licinius Crassus II.

to make him feel their displeasure for it very severely at his return *.

His colleague Piso came home the first from his nearer government of Macedonia; after an inglorious administration of a province, whence no consular senator had ever returned but to a triumph. For tho' on the account of some trifling advantage in the field, he had procured himself to be saluted emperor by his army, yet the occasion was so contemptible, that he durst not send any letters upon it to the senate: but, after oppressing the subjects, plundering the allies, and losing the best part of his troops against the neighbouring barbarians, who invaded and laid waste the country, he ran away in disguise from a mutiny of the soldiers, whom he disbanded at last without their pay †. When he arrived at Rome, he stript his fasces of their laurel, and entered the city obscurely and ignominiously, without any other attendance than his own retinue ‡. On his first appearance in public, trusting

* Vid. Dio. l. 39. p. 116. &c.

† Ex qua aliquot prætorio imperio, consularis quidem nemo rediit, qui incolumis fuerit, qui non triumpharit. In Pison. 16.

Ut ex ea provincia, quæ fuit ex omnibus una maxime triumphalis, nullas sit ad senatum litteras mittere ausus. Nuncius ad senatum missus est nullus. Ib. 19.

Mitto de amissa maxima parte exercitus.—20.

Dyrrhachium ut venit decedens, obsessus est ab iis ipsis militibus. Quibus cum juratus affirmasset, se, quæ deberentur, postero die persoluturum; domum se abdidit: inde nocte intempesta crepidatus, veste servili navem conscendit.—38.

‡ Sic iste—Macedonicus Imperator in urbem se intulit, ut nullius negotiatoris obscurissimi reditus unquam fuerit desertior.—23.

Cum tu—detractam e cruentis fascibus lauream ad portam Esquilinam abjecisti. Ib. 30.

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to the authority of his son-in-law, Cæsar, he had the hardiness to attack Cicero and complain to the senate of his injurious treatment of him: but when he began to reproach him with the disgrace of his exile, the whole assembly interrupted him by a loud and general clamour *. Among other things, with which he upbraided Cicero, he told him, that it was not any envy for what he had done, but the vanity of what he had said, which had driven him into exile; and that a single verse of his,

Cedant arma togæ, concedat laurea linguæ,

was the cause of all his calamity; by provoking Pompey to make him feel how much the power of the general was superior to that of the orator: he put him in mind also, that it was mean and ungenerous to exert his spleen only against such whom he had reason to contemn, without daring to meddle with those who had more power, and where his resentment was more due †. But it had been better for him to have stifled his complaints and suffered Cicero to be quiet; who, exasperated by his imprudent attack, made a reply to him

* Tunc ausus es meum discessum illum—maledicti et contumeliæ loco ponere? Quo quidem tempore cepi, patres conscripti, fructum immortalem vestri in me amoris—qui non admurmuratione, sed voce et clamore abjecti hominis—petulantiam fregistis. Ibid. 14.

† Non ulla tibi, inquit, invidia nocuit, sed versus tui. Hæc res tibi fluctus illos excitavit. Tuæ dicis, inquit, togæ, summum imperatorem esse cessurum.

Paulo ante dixisti me cum iis confligere quos despicerem; non attingere eos, qui plus possent, quibus iratus esse deberem. Ibid. 29, 30, 31.

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upon the spot in an invective speech, the severest perhaps that was ever spoken by any man, on the person, the parts, the whole life and conduct of Piso; which, as long as the Roman name subsists, must deliver down a most detestable character of him to all posterity. As to the verse, with which he was urged, he ridicules the absurdity of Piso's application of it, and tells him, "that he had contrived a very extraordinary punish-"ment for poor poets, if they were to be banished for "every bad line: that he was a critic of a new kind; "not an Aristarchus, but a grammatical Phalaris; who, "instead of expunging the verse, was for destroying "the author: that the verse itself could not imply a-"ny affront to any man whatsoever: that he was an "ass, and did not know his letters, to imagine, that by "the gown he meant his own gown; or by arms, the "arms of any particular general; and not to see that "he was speaking only in the poetical stile; and as "the one was the emblem of peace, the other of war, "that he could mean nothing else, than that the tu-"mults and dangers, with which the city had been "threatened, must now give way to peace and tran-"quillity: that he might have stuck a little indeed in "explaining the latter part of the verse, if Piso him-"self had not helped him out; who, by trampling his "own laurel under foot at the gates of Rome, had de-"clared how much he thought it inferior to every o-"ther kind of honour:—that as for Pompey, it was "silly to think, that, after the volumes which he had "written in his praise, one silly verse should make him "at last his enemy: but that in truth, he never was

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"his enemy; and if, on a certain occasion, he had "shewn any coldness towards him, it was all owing to "the perfidy and malice of such as Piso; who were "continually infusing jealousies and suspicions into "him, till they had removed from his confidence all "who loved either him or the republic *."

About this time the theatre, which Pompey had built at his own charge, for the use and ornament of the city, was solemnly opened and dedicated: it is much celebrated by the ancients for its grandeur and magnificence: the plan was taken from the theatre of Mytilene, but greatly enlarged, so as to receive commodiously forty thousand people. It was surrounded by a portico, to shelter the company in bad weather, and had a *curia* or senate-house annexed to it; with a basilica also, or grand hall, proper for the sittings of judges, or any other public business: which were all finished at Pompey's cost, and adorned with a great number of images, formed by the ablest masters, of men and women, famed for something very remark-

* Quoniam te non Aristarchum, sed grammaticum Phalarim habemus, qui non notam apponas ad malum versum, sed poetam armis prosequare. Quid nunc te, asine, literas doceam? Non dixi hanc togam, qua sum amictus, nec arma, scutum et gladium unius imperatoris: sed quod pacis est insigne et otii, toga; contra autem arma, tumultus ac belli, more poetarum locutus, hoc intelligi volui, bellum ac tumultum paci atque otio concessurum—in altero—hærerem, nisi tu expedisses. Nam cum tu—detractum e cruentis fascibus lauream ad portam Esquilinam abjecisti, indicasti, non modo amplissimæ, sed etiam minimæ laudi lauream concessisse. Vis Pompeium isto versu inimicum mihi esse factum. Primo nonne compensabit cum uno versiculo tot mea volumina laudum suarum? Vestræ fraudes,—vestræ criminationes insidiarum mearum—effecerunt ut ego excluderer, &c. In Pison. 30, 31.

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able or prodigious in their lives and characters*. Atticus undertook the care of placing all these statues, for which Pompey charged Cicero with his thanks to him †: but what made this fabric the more surprising and splendid, was a beautiful temple, erected at one end of it to Venus the conqueress; and so contrived, that the seats of the theatre might serve as stairs to the temple. This was designed, it is said, to avoid the reproach of making so vast an expence for the mere use of luxury; the temple being so placed, that those who came to the shews might seem to come to worship the goddess ‡.

At the solemnity of this dedication, Pompey entertained the people with the most magnificent shews which had ever been exhibited in Rome: in the theatre, were stage-plays, prizes of music, wrestling, and all kinds of bodily exercises: in the circus, horse-races, and huntings of wild beasts for five days successively; in which five hundred lions were killed; and on the

* Pompeius Magnus in ornamentis theatri mirabiles fama posuit imagines; ob id diligentius magnorum artificum ingeniis elaboratas: inter quas legitur Eutyche, a viginti liberis rogo illata, enixa triginta partus; Alcippe, Elephantum. Plin. H. 7. 3.

† Tibi etiam gratias agebat, quod signa componenda suscepisses. Ad Att. 4. 9.

‡ Quum Pompeius, inquit, ædem Victoriæ dedicaturus esset, cujus gradus vicem theatri essent, &c. A. Gell. X. 1. Vid. Tertull. de Spectac.

Dion Cassius mentions it, as a tradition that he had met with, that this theatre was not really built by Pompey, but by his freedman Demetrius, who had made himself richer than his master, by attending him in his wars; and to take off the envy of raising so vast an estate, laid out a considerable part of it upon the theatre, and gave the honour of it to Pompey. Dio, p. 107. Senec. de Tranq. Anim. c. 8.

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last day, twenty elephants: whose lamentable howling, when mortally wounded, raised such a commiseration in the multitude, from a vulgar notion of their great sense and love to man, that it destroyed the whole diversion of the shew, and drew curses on Pompey himself, for being the author of so much cruelty *. So true it is, what Cicero observes of this kind of prodigality; that there is no real dignity or lasting honour in it; that it satiates, while it pleases, and is forgotten, as soon as it is over ‡. It gives us however a genuine idea of the wealth and grandeur of these principal subjects of Rome: who, from their private revenues, could raise such noble buildings, and provide such shews, from the several quarters of the world, which no monarch on earth is now able to exhibit.

Cicero, contrary to his custom, was present at these shews, out of compliment to Pompey, and gives a particular account of them to his friend M. Marius, who could not be drawn by them from his books and re-

* Magnificentissima vero Pompeii nostri munera in secundo Consulatu. De Off. 2. 16.

Pompeii quoque altero Consulatu, dedicatione templi Veneris victricis, pugnare in Circo viginti elephantes——Amissa fugæ spe misericordiam vulgi inenarrabili habitu querentes supplicavere, quadam sese lamentatione complorantes, tanto populi dolore, ut oblitus imperatoris—Flens universus consurgeret, dirasque Pompeio, quas ille mox luit, pœnas imprecaretur—Plin. l. 8. 7. Vid. Dio. l. 39. p. 107. It. Plutar. in Pomp.

‡ In his infinitis—sumptibus, nihil nos magnopere mirari: cum nec necessitati subveniatur, nec dignitas augeatur: ipsaque illa delectatio multitudinis sit ad breve exiguumque tempus—in quo tamen ipso, una cum satietate memoria quoque moriatur voluptatis.—De Off. 2. 16.

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treat in the country. "The old actors," says he, "who "had left the stage, came on to it again, in honour of "Pompey; but, for the sake of their own honour, ought "rather to have staid away; our friend Æsopus ap- "peared to be quite sunk and worn out; so that all "people seemed willing to grant him his quietus: for "in attempting to raise his voice, where he had occa- "sion to swear, his speech faultered and failed him "——In the other plays, the vast apparatus, and "crouded machinery, which raised the admiration of "the mob, spoiled the entertainment: six hundred "mules, infinite treasures of plate, troops of horse and "foot fighting on the stage.——The huntings indeed "were magnificent, but what pleasure to a man of "taste, to see a poor weak fellow torn to pieces by a "fierce beast; or a noble beast struck dead with a "spear: the last day's shew of elephants, instead of "delight, raised a general compassion, and an opinion "of some relation between that animal and man: but "least you should think me wholly happy, in these "days of diversion, I have almost burst myself in the "defence of your friend Gallus Caninius. If the city "would be as kind to me, as they are to Æsopus, I "would willingly quit the stage, to live with you, and "such as you, in a polite and liberal ease *."

The city continued for a great part of this summer without it's annual magistrates: for the elections which had been postponed from the last year, were still kept off by the consuls, till they could settle them

* Ep. fam. 7. 1.

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to their minds, and secure them to their own creatures: which they effected at last, except in the case of two tribunes, who slipt into the office against their will: but the most remarkable repulse was, of M. Cato from the prætorship, which was given to Vatinius; from the best citizen, to the worst. Cato, upon his return from the Cyprian voyage, was complimented by the senate for that service with the offer of the prætorship in an extraordinary manner *. But he declined the compliment, thinking it more agreeable to his character, to obtain it in the ordinary way, by the free choice of the people: but when the election came on, in which he was thought sure of success, Pompey broke up the assembly, on pretence of somewhat inauspicious in the heavens, and by intrigue and management got Vatinius declared prætor, who had been repulsed the year before with disgrace from the ædileship †: but this being carried by force of money, and likely to produce an impeachment of Vatinius, Afranius moved for a decree, that the prætors should not be questioned for bribery after their election; which passed against the general humour of the senate; with an exception only of sixty days, in which they were to be considered as private men. The pretence for the decree was, that so much of the year being spent,

* Cujus ministerii gratia senatus relationem interponi jubebat, ut prætoriis comitiis extra ordinem ratio ejus haberetur. Sed ipse id fieri passus non est.——Val. Max. 4. 1. Plutar. in Cato.

† Proxima dementiæ suffragia—quoniam quem honorem Catoni negaverunt, Vatinio dare coacti sunt. Val. Max. 7.5, Plut. in Pomp.

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the whole would pass without any prætors at all, if a liberty of impeaching was allowed: from this moment, says Cicero, they have given the exclusion to Cato; and, being masters of all, resolve that all the world shall know it *.

Cicero's Palatine house, and the adjoining portico of Catulus, were now finished; and as he and his brother were the curators likewise of the repairs of the temple of Tellus†, so they seem to have provided some inscriptions for these buildings in honour and memory of themselves: but since no public inscriptions could be set up, unless by public authority, they were apprehensive of an opposition from Clodius. Cicero mentioned the case to Pompey, who promised his assistance, but advised him to talk also with Crassus, which he took occasion to do, as he attended him home one day from the senate. Crassus readily undertook the affair, and told him, that Clodius had a point to carry for himself by Pompey's help and his, and that if Cicero would not oppose Clodius, he was persuaded that Clodius would not disturb him; to which Cicero consented. Clodius's business was, to procure one of those free or honorary lieutenancies, that he might go with a public character to Byzan-

* A. D. III. id. Maii S. C. factum est de ambitu in Afranii sententiam.——Sed magno cum gemitu senatus. Consules non sunt persecuti eorum sententias: qui Afranio cum essent assensi addiderunt, ut prætores ita crearentur, ut dies LX. privati essent. Eo die Catonem plane repudiarunt. Quid multa? Tenent omnia, idque ita omnes intelligere volunt. Ad Quint. 2. 9.

† Quod Ædes Telluris est curationis meæ. De Harusp. resp. 14.

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tium, and king Brogitarus, to gather the money which they owed him for past services. As it is a mere money-matter, says Cicero, I shall not concern myself about it, whether I gain my own point or not, though Pompey and Crassus have jointly undertaken it; but he seems to have obtained what he desired, since, besides the intended inscriptions, he mentions a statue also of his brother, which he had actually erected at the temple of Tellus †.

Trebonius, one of the tribunes in the interests of the Triumvirate, published a law, "for the assignment "of provinces to the consuls for the term of five years: "to Pompey, Spain and Afric; to Crassus, Syria, and "the Parthian war, with a power of raising what for-"ces they thought fit: and that Cæsar's commission "should be renewed also for five years more." The law was opposed by the generality of the senate; and above all, by Cato, Favonius, and two of the tribunes, C. Atticus Capito, and P. Aquilius Gallus: but the superior force of the consuls and the other tribunes prevailed, and cleared the forum by violence of all their opponents. The law no sooner passed, than Crassus began to prepare for his eastern expedition;

† Multa nocte cum Vibullio veni ad Pompeium. Cumque ego egissem de istis operibus et inscriptionibus, per mihi benigne respondit. Cum Crasso se dixit loqui velle, mihique, ut idem facerem, suasit. Crassum consulem ex senatu domum reduxi: suscepit rem, dixitque esse quod Clodius hoc tempore cuperet se, et per Pompeium consequi. Putare se, si ego eum non impedirem, posse me adipisci sine contentione quod vellem, &c. Ad Quint. 2. 9.

Reddita est mihi pervetus epistola——in qua de Æde Telluris, et de porticu Catuli me admones. Fit utrumque diligenter. Ad Telluris etiam tuam statuam locavi. Ib. 3. 1.

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and was in such haste to set forward, that he left Rome above two months before the expiration of his consulship: his eagerness to involve the republic in a desperate war, for which the Parthians had given no pretext, was generally detested by the city: the tribune Ateius declared it impious, and prohibited by all the auspices; and denounced direful imprecations against it; but finding Crassus determined to march in defiance of all religion, he waited for him at the gates of the city, and having dressed up a little altar, stood ready with a fire and sacrifice to devote him to destruction ‡. Ateius was afterwards turned out of the senate by Appius, when he was censor, for falsifying the auspices on this occasion; but the miserable fate of Crassus supported the credit of them; and confirmed the vulgar opinion of the inevitable force of those ancient rites, in drawing down the divine vengeance on all who presumed to contemn them *. Appius was one of the augurs; and the only one of the college who maintained the truth of their auguries, and the reality of divination; for which he was laughed at by the rest; who charged him also with an absurdity, in the reason, which he subscribed, for his censure upon Ateius, viz. that he had falsified the auspices, and brought a great calamity on the Roman people: for if the auspices, they said, were false, they could not possibly have any effect, or be the cause of

‡ Dio. l. 39. p. 109. Plut. in Crass.

* M. Crasso quid acciderit, videmus, dirarum obnunciatione neglecta. De Divin. 1. 16.

A. Urb. 698. Cic. 52. Coss.—Cn. Pomp. Magnus II. M. Licinius Crassus II.

that calamity †. But though they were undoubtedly forged, it is certain, however, that they had a real influence on the overthrow of Crassus: for the terror of them had deeply possessed the minds of the soldiers, and made them turn every thing which they saw, or heard, to an omen of their ruin; so that when the enemy appeared in sight, they were struck with such a panic, that they had not courage or spirit enough left, to make a tolerable resistance.

Crassus was desirous, before he left Rome, to be reconciled to Cicero: they had never been real friends, but generally opposite in party; and Cicero's early engagements with Pompey kept him of course at a distance from Crassus: their coldness was still increased, on account of Catiline's plot, of which Crassus was strongly suspected, and charged Cicero with being the author of that suspicion: they carried it, however, on both sides with much decency, out of regard to Crassus's son, Publius, a professed admirer and disciple of Cicero, till an accidental debate in the senate blew up their secret grudge into an open quarrel. The debate was upon Gabinius, whom Crassus undertook to defend, with many severe reflections upon Cicero, who replied with no less acrimony, and gave a

† Solus enim multorum annorum memoria, non decemtandi Augurii, sed divinandi tenuit disciplinam; quem irridebant collegæ tui, eumque tum Pisidam, tum Soranum augurem esse dicebant. Quibus nulla videbatur in auguriis aut auspiciis præsensio. Ib. 47.

In quo Appius, bonus augur— non satis scienter—Civem egregium, Ateium, censor notavit, quod ementitum auspicia subscripserit. Quæ si falsa fuisset nullam adferre potuisset causam calamitatis. Ib. 16.

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free vent to that old resentment of Crassus's many injuries, which had been gathering, he says, several years, but lain dormant so long, that he took it to be extinguished, till, from this accident, it burst out into a flame. The quarrel gave great joy to the chiefs of the senate, who highly applauded Cicero, in hopes to embroil him with the Triumvirate: but Pompey laboured hard to make it up, and Cæsar also, by letter, expressed his uneasiness upon it, and begged it of Cicero, as a favour, to be reconciled with Crassus; so that he could not hold out against an intercession so powerful, and so well enforced by his affection to young Crassus: their reconciliation was confirmed by mutual professions of a sincere friendship for the future; and Crassus, to give a public testimony of it to the city, invited himself, just before his departure, to sup with Cicero, who entertained him in the gardens of his son-in-law, Crassipes *. These gardens were upon the banks of the Tiber, and seem to have been famous for their beauty and situation †; and are the

* Repentinam ejus Gabinii defensionem—Si sine ulla mea contumelia suscepisset, tulissem: sed cum me disputantem, non lacessentem læsisset, exarsi non solum præsenti, credo, iracundia (nam ea tam vehemens fortasse non fuisset) sed cum inclusum illud odium multarum ejus in me injuriarum, quod ego effudisse me omne arbitrabar, residuum tamen insciente me fuisset, omne repente apparuit—Cumque Pompeius ita contendisset, ut nihil unquam magis, ut cum Crasso redirem in gratiam; Cæsarque per literas maxima se molestia ex illa contentione affectum ostenderet: habui non temporum solum meorum rationem, sed etiam naturæ. Crassusque ut quasi testata populo Rom. esset nostra gratia, pæne a meis laribus in provinciam est profectus. Nam cum mihi condixisset, cœnavit apud me in mei generi Crassipedis hortis.—Ep. fam. 1. 9.

† Ad Quint. 3. 7. Ad Att. 4. 12.

A. Urb. 693. Cic. 52. Cos.—Cn. Pomp. Magnus II. M. Licinius Crassus II.

only proof which we meet with of the splendid fortunes and condition of Crassipes.

Cicero spent a great part of the summer in the country, in study and retreat, "pleased," he says, "that he was out of the way of those squabbles, "where he must either have defended what he did "not approve, or deserted the man whom he ought "not to forsake ‡." In this retirement he put the last hand to his piece on the *Complete Orator*, which he sent to Atticus, and promises also to send to Lentulus, telling him, "that he had intermitted his old "task of orations, and betaken himself to the milder "and gentler studies, in which he had finished, to his "satisfaction, three books, by way of dialogue, on the "subject of the Orator, in Aristotle's manner, which "would be of use to his son, young Lentulus, being "drawn, not in the ordinary way of the schools, and "the dry method of precepts, but comprehending all "that the ancients, and especially Aristotle and Isocrates, had taught on the institution of an Orator *."

The three books contain as many dialogues, upon the character and idea of the perfect Orator: the principal speakers were P. Crassus and M. Antonius,

‡ Ego afuisse me in altercationibus, quas in senatu factas audio, fero non moleste; nam aut defendissem quod non placeret, aut defuissem cui non oporteret. Ad Att. 4. 13.

* Scripsi etiam, (nam ab orationibus dijungo me fere, referoque ad mansuetiores musas) scripsi igitur Aristoteleo more, quemadmodum quidem volui, tres libros in disputatione et dialogo de Oratore, quos arbitror Lentulo tuo non fore inutiles. Abhorrent enim a communibus præceptis: ac omnem antiquarum, et Aristoteleam et Isocrateam rationem Oratoriam complectuntur. Ep. fam. 1. 9.

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persons of the first dignity in the republic, and the greatest masters of eloquence which Rome had then known: they were near forty years older than Cicero, and the first Romans who could pretend to dispute the prize of oratory with the Greeks, and who carried the Latin tongue to a degree of perfection, which left little or no room for any farther improvement †. The disputation was undertaken at the desire, and for the instruction of two young orators of great hopes, C. Cotta and P. Sulpicius, who were then beginning to flourish at the bar: Cicero himself was not present at it, but being informed by Cotta of the principal heads and general argument of the whole, supplied the rest from his own invention, agreeably to the different stile and manner which those great men were known to pursue, and with design to do honour to the memory of them both, but especially of Crassus, who had been the director of his early studies, and to whom he assigns the defence of that notion which he himself always entertained of the character of a consummate speaker ‡.

† Crassus—quatuor et triginta tum habebat annos, totidemque annis mihi ætate præstabat—Triennio ipso minor quam Antonius, quod idcirco posui, ut dicendi Latine prima maturitas qua ætate extitisset, posset notari; et intelligeretur, jam ad summum pæne esse perductam, ut eo nihil ferme quisquam addere posset, nisi qui a philosophia, a jure civili, ab historia fuisset instructior. Brut. 275.

Nunc ad Antonium, Crassumque pervenimus. Nam ego sic existimo hos Oratores fuisse maximos: et in his primum cum Græcorum gloria Latine dicendi copiam æquatam—Ib. 250.

‡ Nos enim, qui ipsi sermoni non interfuissemus, et quibus C. Cotta tantummodo locos, ac sententias hujus disputationis tradidisset,

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Atticus was exceedingly pleased with this treatise, and commended it to the skies; but objected to the propriety of dismissing Scævola from the disputation, after he had once been introduced into the first dialogue. Cicero defends himself by the example of their god, Plato, as he calls him, in his book on Government; where the scene being laid in the house of an old gentleman, Cephalus, the old man, after bearing a part in the first conversation, excuses himself, that he must go to prayers, and returns no more; Plato not thinking it suitable to the character of his age, to be detained in the company through so long a discourse: that, with greater reason, therefore, he had used the same caution in the case of Scævola; since it was not decent to suppose a person of his dignity, extreme age, and infirm health, spending several days successively in another man's house: that the first day's dialogue related to his particular profession, but the other two turned chiefly on the rules and precepts of the art, where it was not proper for one of Scævola's temper and character to assist only as a hearer *. This admirable work remains entire, a standing monument of Cicero's parts and abilities; which, while it exhibits to us the idea

set, quo in genere orationis utrumque Oratorem cognoveramus, id ipsum sumus in eorum sermone adumbrare conati.—De Orat. 3. 4.

Ut ei, (Crasso) et si nequaquam pareta illius ingenio, at pro nostro tamen studio meritam gratiam debitamque referamus—Ibid.—

* Quod in iis libris, quos laudas, personam desideras Scævolæ. Non eam temere dimovi, sed feci idem, quod in πολιτικῷ Deus ille noster, Plato. Cum in Piræeum Socrates venisset ad Cephalum, locupletem et festivum senem, quoad primus ille sermo haberetur adest in disputando Senex, &c. Ad Att. 4. 16.

A. Urb. 698. Cic. 52. Cos.—Cn. Pompeius Magnus II. M. Licinius Crassus.

of a perfect orator, and marks out the way by which Cicero formed himself to that character, it explains the reason likewise why no body has since equalled him, or ever will, till there be found again united, what will hardly be found single in any man, the same industry, and the same parts.

Cicero returned to Rome, about the middle of November, to assist at Milo's wedding, who married Fausta, a rich and noble lady, the daughter of Sylla the dictator †; with whom, as some writers says, he found Sallust the historian in bed not long after, and had him soundly lashed, before he dismissed him. The consuls, Pompey and Crassus, having reaped all the fruit, which they had proposed from the consulship, of securing to themselves the provinces which they wanted, were not much concerned about the choice of their successors; so that, after postponing the election to the end of the year, they gave way at last to their enemy, L. Domitius Ahenobarbus; being content to have joined with him their friend, Appius Claudius Pulcher.

A. Urb. 699. Cic. 53. Cos.—L. Domitius Ahenobarbus. A. Claudius Pulcher.

As soon as the new year came on, Crassus's enemies began to attack him in the senate: their design was to revoke his commission, or abridge it at least of the power of making war upon the Parthians: but Cicero exerted himself so strenuously in his defence, that he baffled their attempts, after a warm contest with the

† Ad Att. 4. 13. 5. 8.

A. Urb. 699. Etc. 53. Cons. L. Domitius Ahenobarbus. A. Claudius Pulcher.

consuls themselves and several of the consular senators. He gave Crassus an account of the debate by letter, in which he tells him, that he had given proof, not only to his friends and family, but to the whole city, of the sincerity of his reconciliation*; and assures him of his resolution to serve him, with all his pains, advice, authority, interest, in every thing great or small, which concerned himself, his friends, or clients; and bids him look upon that letter, as a league of amity, which on his part should be inviolably observed †.

The month of February being generally employed in giving audience to foreign princes and ambassadors, Antiochus, king of Comagene, a territory on the banks of the Euphrates ‖, preferred a petition to the senate for some new honour or privilege, which was commonly decreed to princes in alliance with the republic: but Cicero, being in a rallying humour, made the petition so ridiculous, that the house rejected it, and at his motion, reserved likewise out of his jurisdiction one of his principal towns, Zeugma; in which was the chief bridge and passage over the Euphrates. Cæsar, in his consulship, had granted to this king the honour of the prætexta, or the robe of the Roman Magistrates; which was always disagreeable to the nobility, who did not care to see these petty princes put upon the same rank with themselves; so that Cicero, calling out upon the nobles, "will you," says he, "who refused the prætexta

* Has literas velim existimes fœderis habituras esse vim, non epistolæ; neque ea, quæ tibi promitto ac recipio, sanctissime esse observaturum. Ep. fam. 5. 8.

† Ep. fam. 15. 1, 3, 4.

A. Urb. 699. Cic. 53. Coss.—L. Domitius Ahenobarbus. A. Claudius Pulcher.

to the king of Bostra, suffer this Comagenian to strut in purple!" But this disappointment was not more mortifying to the king, than it was to the consuls, whose best perquisites were drawn from these compliments, which were always repaid by rich presents; so that Appius, who had been lately reconciled to Cicero, and paid a particular court to him at this time, applied to him by Atticus and their common friends, to suffer the petitions of this sort to pass quietly, nor destroy the usual harvest of the month, and make it quite barren to him *.

Cicero made an excursion this spring to visit his several seats and estates in the country; and, in his Cumean villa, began "a treatise on politics; or on the best "state of a city, and the duties of a citizen:" he calls it a great and laborious work, yet worthy of his pains, if he could succeed in it; if not, I shall throw it, says he, into that sea, which is now before me, and attempt something else, since it is impossible for me to be idle. It was drawn up in the form of a *dialogue*, in which the greatest persons of the old republic were introduced, debating on the origin and best constitution of

* De Comageno rege, quod rem totam discusseram, mihi et per se et per Pomponium blanditur Appius. Videt enim, si hoc genere dicendi utar in cæteris, Februarium sterilem futurum. Eumque lusi jocose satis: neque solum illud extorsi oppidulum, quod erat positum in Euphrate, Zeugma; sed præterea togam ejus prætextam, quam erat adeptus Cæsare consule, magno hominum risu cavillatus.—Vos autem homines nobiles, qui Bostrenum prætextatum non ferebatis, Comagenum feretis? Multa dixi in ignobilem regem, quibus totus est explosus. Quo genere commotus Appius totum me amplexatur. Ad Quint. 2. 12.

A. Urb. 699. Cic. 53. Coss.—L. Domitius Ahenobarbus. A. Claudius Pulcher.

government; Scipio, Lælius, Philius, Manilius, &c. * The whole was to be distributed into nine books, each of them the subject of one day's disputation: when he had finished the two first, they were read in his Tusculan villa to some of his friends; where Sallust, who was one of the company, advised him to change his plan, and treat the subject in his own person, as Aristotle had done before him; alleging, that the introduction of those antients, instead of adding gravity, gave an air of romance to the argument, which would have the greater weight, when delivered from himself; as being the work, not of a little sophist, or contemplative theorist, but of a consular senator and statesman, conversant in the greatest affairs, and writing what his own practice, and the experience of many years, had taught him to be true. These reasons seemed very plausible, and made him think of altering his scheme; especially, since, by throwing the scene so far back, he precluded himself from touching on those important revolutions of the republic, which were later than the period to which he confined himself: but, after some deliberation, being unwilling to throw away *the two books* already finished, with which he was much pleased, he resolved to stick to the old

* Scribebam illa, quæ dixeram πολλαχοῦ, spissum sane opus et operosum: sed si ex sententia successerit, bene erit opera posita; sin minus, in illud ipsum mare dejiciemus, quod scribentes spectatamus; aggrediemur alia, quoniam quiescere non possumus. Ib. 14.

Hanc ego, quam institui, de repub. disputationem in Africani personam et Phili, et Lælii et Manilii contuli, &c.—Rem, quod te non fugit, magnam complexus sum et gravem, et plurimi otii, quod ego maximo egeo.

A. Urb. 699. Cic. 53. Coss—L. Domitius Ahenobarbus. A. Claudius Pulcher.

plan, and as he had preferred it from the first, for the sake of avoiding offence, so he pursued it without any other alteration, than that of reducing the number of books from nine to six; in which form they were afterwards published, and survived him for several ages, though now unfortunately lost *.

From the fragments of this work, which still remain, it appears to have been a noble performance, and one of his capital pieces; where all the important questions in politics and morality were discussed with the greatest elegance and accuracy; "of the origin of "society; the nature of law and obligation; the e-"ternal difference of right and wrong; of justice be-"ing the only good policy, or foundation either of "public or private prosperity; so that he calls his six "books, so many pledges, given to the public, for the "integrity of his conduct †." The younger Scipio

* Sermo autem in novem et dies et libros distributus de optimo statu civitatis et de optimo cive.—Hi libri, cum in Tusculano mihi legerentur, audiente Sallustio; admonitus sum ab illo, multo majore auctoritate illis de rebus dici posse, si ipse loquerer de repub. præsertim cum essem, non Heraclides Ponticus, sed consularis, et is, qui in maximis versatus in repub. rebus essem: quæ tam antiquis hominibus attribuerem, ea visum iri, ficta esse.—Commovit me, et eo magis, quod maximus motus nostræ civitatis attingere non poteram, quod erant inferiores, quam illorum ætas qui loquebantur. Ego autem id ipsum tum eram secutus, ne in nostra tempora incurrens offenderem quempiam. Ad Quint. 3. 5.

This will solve that variation which we find in his own account of this work, in different parts of his writings; and why Fannius, who in some places is declared to be a speaker in it, [Ad Att. 4. 16. Ad Quint. 3. 5.] is denied to be so in others; being dropped when the number of books was contracted.

† Cum sex libris, tanquam prædibus me ipsum obstrinxerim, quos tibi tam valde probari gaudeo. Ad Att. 6. 1.

A. Urb. 699. Cic. 53. Cos.—L. Domitius Ahenobarbus. A. Claudius Pulcher.

was the principal speaker of the dialogue, whose part it was "to assert the excellence of the Roman constitution, preferably to that of all other states †:" who, in the sixth book, under the fiction of a dream, which is still preserved to us, takes occasion to inculcate the doctrine of the immortality of the soul and a future state, in a manner so lively and entertaining, that it has been the standing pattern ever since to the wits of succeeding ages, for attempting the same method of instilling moral lessons, in the form of dreams or visions.

He was now drawn at last into a particular intimacy and correspondence of letters with Cæsar; who had long been endeavouring to engage him to his friendship, and with that view, had invited his brother Quintus, to be one of his Lieutenants in Gaul; where Quintus, to pay his court the better to his General, joined heartily in pressing his brother to an union with him, instead of adhering so obstinately to Pompey, who, as he tells him, was neither so sincere, nor so generous a friend as Cæsar ‡. Cicero did not dislike the advice, and expressed a readiness to comply with it, of which Balbus gave an intimation to Cæsar, with a letter also inclosed, from Cicero himself; but the packet happening to fall into water, the letters were all destroyed, except a scrap or two of Balbus's, to

† An senses, cum in illis de repub. libris persuadere videatur Africanus, omnium rerum pub. nostram veterem illam fuisse optimam.—De Leg. 2. x. vid. ib. 6. 9.

‡ De Pompeio assentior tibi, vel tu potius mihi, nam, ut scis, jampridem istum canto Cæsarem.—Ad Quint. 2. 13.

A. Urb. 699. Cic. 53. Coss.—L. Domitius Ahenobarbus. A. Claudius Pulcher.

which Cæsar returned answer; "I perceive, that you "had written somewhat about Cicero, which I could "not make out; but, as far as I can guess, it was "something rather to be wished, than hoped for *." But Cicero sent another copy of the same letter, which came safe to his hands, written, as he says, in the familiar stile, yet without departing from his dignity. Cæsar answered him with all imaginable kindness, and the offer of every thing, in which his power could serve him, telling him, how agreeable his brother's company was to him, by the revival of their old affection; and since he was now removed to such a distance from him, he would take care, that in their mutual want of each other, he should have cause at least to rejoice, that his brother was with him, rather than any one else. He thanks him also for sending the lawyer Trebatius to him, and says upon it jocosely, that there was not a man before in his army, who knew how to draw a recognizance.—Cicero, in his account of this letter to his brother, says; "it is kind in "you, and like a brother, to press me to his friend-"ship, though I am running that way apace myself, "and shall do, what often happens to travellers, who "rising latter than they intended, yet, by quickening "their speed, come sooner to their journey's end than

* Ille scripsit ad Balbum, fasciculum illum epistolarum, in quo fuerat et mea et Balbi, totum sibi aqua madidum redditum esse: ut ne illud quidem sciat, meam fuisse aliquam epistolam. Sed ex Balbi epistola pauca verba intellexerat, ad quæ rescripsit his verbis. De Cicerone video te quiddam scripsisse, quod ego non intellexi: quantum autem conjectura consequebar id erat hujusmodi, ut magis optandum, quam sperandum putarem. Ad Quint. 2. 12.

A. Urb. 699. Cic. 53. Cons.—L. Domitius Ahenobarbus. A. Claudius Pulcher.

"if they had set out earlier; so I, who have over-slept "myself in my observance of this man, though you "were frequently rousing me, will correct my past "laziness by mending my pace for the future."—But as to his seeking any advantage or personal benefit from this alliance, "believe me," says he, "you who "know me; I have from him already what I most "value, the assurance of his affection, which I prefer "to all the great things that he offers me—*. In an- "other letter" he says; "I lay no great stress on his "promises, want no farther honours, nor desire any "new glory, and wish nothing more but the continu- "ance of his esteem, yet live still in such a course of "ambition and fatigue, as if I were expecting what "I do not really desire †.

But though he made no use of Cæsar's generosity for himself, yet he used it freely for his friends: for

* Cum Cæsaris literis, refertis omni officio, diligentia, suavitate—Quarum initium est, quam suavis ei tuus adventus fuerit, et recordatio veteris amoris; deinde se effecturum, ut ego in medio dolore ac desiderio tui, te, cum a me abesses, potissimum secum esse lætarer.—Trebatium quod ad se miserim, persalse et humaniter etiam gratias mihi agit: negat enim in tanta multitudine eorum, qui una essent, quempiam fuisse, qui vadimonium concipere posset.—Quare facis tu quidem fraterne, quod me hortaris, sed mehercule currentem nunc quidem, ut omnia mea studia in istum unum conferam, &c.

Sed mihi crede, quem nosti, quod in istis rebus ego plurimi æstimo, jam habeo:—deinde Cæsaris tantum in me amorem, quem omnibus his honoribus, quos me a se expectare vult, antepono.—Ad Quint. 2. 15.

† Promissis iis, quæ ostendit, non valde pendeo: nec honores sitio, nec desidero gloriam: magisque ejus voluntatis perpetuitatem, quam promissorum exitum expecto. Vivo tamen in ea ambitione et labore, tanquam id, quod non postulo, expectem. Ib. 3. 5.

A. Urb. 699. Cic. 53. Coss.—L. Domitius Ahenobarbus. A. Claudius Pulcher.

besides his brother, who was Cæsar's lieutenant, and Trebatius, who was his lawyer; he procured an eminent post for Orfius, and a regiment for Curtius; yet Cæsar was chiding him all the while for his reservedness in asking *. His recommendatory letter of Trebatius, will shew both what a share he possessed at this time of Cæsar's confidence, and with what an affectionate zeal he used to recommend his friends.

"CICERO to CÆSAR, Emperor.

"See, how I have persuaded myself to consider you "as a second self; not only in what affects my own "interest, but in what concerns my friends: I had re- "solved, whithersoever I went abroad, to carry C. Tre- "batius along with me; that I might bring him home "adorned with the fruits of my care and kindness: "but since Pompey's stay in Rome has been longer "than I expected, and my own irresolution, to which "you are no stranger, will either wholly hinder, or at "least, retard my going abroad at all; see, what I "have taken upon myself: I began presently to re- "solve that Trebatius should expect the same things "from you, which he had been hoping for from me: "nor did I assure him with less frankness of your "good will, than I used to do of my own: but a won- "derful incident fell out, both as a testimony of my

* M. Curtio Tribunatum ab eo petivi.—Ib. 2. 15. Ep. fam. 7. 5. De Tribunatu—mihi ipse Cæsar nominatim Curtio paratum esse rescripsit, meamque in rogando verecundiam objurgavit. Ad Quin. 3. 1.

A. Urb. 699. Cic. 53. Coss.—L. Domitius Ahenobarbus. A. Claudius Pulcher.

" opinion, and a pledge of your humanity; for while " I was talking of this very Trebatius at my house, " with our friend Balbus, your letter was delivered to " me; in the end of which you said; " as to M. Orfius, " whom you recommended to me, I will make him e- " ven king of Gaul, or lieutenant to Lepta; send me " another therefore, if you please, whom I may prefer." " We lifted up our hands both I and Balbus; the oc- " casion was so pat, that it seemed not to be accident- " al, but divine. I send you therefore Trebatius; and " send him so, as at first indeed I designed, of my own " accord, but now also by your invitation; embrace " him, my dear Cæsar, with all your usual courtesy; " and, whatever you could be induced to do for my " friends, out of your regard to me, confer it all sing- " ly upon him. I will be answerable for the man; " not in my former stile, which you justly rallied, " when I wrote to you about Milo, but in the true " Roman phrase, which men of sense use; that there " is not an honester, worthier, modester man living: " I must add, what makes the principal part of his " character, that he has a singular memory and per- " fect knowledge of the civil law. I ask for him, nei- " ther a regiment, nor government, nor any certain " piece of preferment; I ask your benevolence and " generosity; yet am not against the adorning him, " whenever you shall think proper, with those trap- " pings also of glory: in short, I deliver the whole " man to you, from my hand, as we say, into yours, " illustrious for victory and faith. But I am more " importunate than I need to be to you; yet I know

A. Urb. 699. Cic. 53. Coss.—L. Domitius Ahenobarbus. A. Claudius Pulcher.

" you will excuse it. Take care of your health, and " continue to love me, as you now do *."

Trebatius was of a hazy, indolent, studious temper; a lover of books and good company; eagerly fond of the pleasures of Rome: and wholly out of his element in a camp: and because Cæsar, through the infinite hurry of his affairs, could not presently admit him to his familiarity, and prefer him so soon as he expected, he was tired of the drudgery of attending him, and impatient to be at home again. Under these circumstances there is a series of letters to him from Cicero, written not only with the disinterested affection of a friend, but the solicitude even of a parent, employing all the arts of insinuation, as well of the grave, as of the facetious kind, to hinder him from ruining his hopes and fortunes by his own imprudence. " He laughs at " his childish hankering after the city; bids him " reflect on the end for which he went abroad, " and pursue it with constancy; observes, from " the Medea of Euripides, that many had served " themselves and the public well, at a distance from " their country; whilst others, by spending their lives " at home, had lived and died ingloriously; of which " number, says he, you would have been one, if we " had not thrust you out; and since I am now acting " Medea, take this other lesson from me, that he, who " is not wise for himself, is wise to no purpose †." He

* Ep. Fam. 7. 5.

† Tu modo ineptias istas & desideria urbis & urbanitatis depone: & quo consilio profectus es, id assiduitate & virtute consequere.—Nam,

A. Urb. 699. Cic. 53. Cos.—L. Domitius Ahenobarbus. A. Claudius Pulcher.

rallies his impatience, or rather "imprudence; as if he "had carried a bond, not a letter to Cæsar, and thought "that he had nothing to do, but to take his money "and return home; not recollecting, that even those "who followed king Ptolemy with bonds to Alexan-"dria, had not yet brought back a penny of money *. "you write me word, says he, that Cæsar now con-"sults you; I had rather hear, that he consults your "interest †. Let me die, if I do not believe, such is "your vanity, that you had rather be consulted, than "enriched by him ‡." By these railleries and perpetual admonitions, he made Trebatius ashamed of his softness, and content to stay with Cæsar, by whose favour and generosity he was cured at last of all his uneasiness; and having here laid the foundation of his fortunes, flourished afterwards in the court of Augustus, with the character of the most learned lawyer of that age ‖.

Nam multi suam rem bene gessere & publicam, patria procul. Multi, quei domi ætatem agerent, propterea sunt improbati.

Quo in numero tu certe fuisses, nisi te extrusissemus—& quando Medeam agere cœpi, illud semper memento, qui ipse sibi sapiens prodesse non quit, nequicquam sapit. Ep. Fam. 7. 6.

* Subimprudens videbare; tanquam enim syngrapham ad imperatorem, non epistolam attulisses, sic, pecunia ablata, domum redire properabas. Nec tibi in mentem veniebat, eos ipsos, qui cum syngraphis venissent Alexandriam, nummum adhuc nullum auferre potuisse. Ib. 17.

† Consuli quidem te a Cæsare scribis; sed ego tibi ab illo consuli vellem.——Ib. xi.

‡ Moriar, ni, quæ tua gloria est, puto te malle a Cæsare consuli, quam inaurari. Ib. 13.

‖ —Nisi quid tu, docte Trebati
Dissentis.—Hor. Sat. 2. 1. 79.

A. Urb. 699. Cic. 53. Cos.—I. Domitius Ahenobarbus. A. Claudius Pulcher.

Cæsar was now upon his second expedition into Britain, which raised much talk and expectation at Rome, and gave Cicero no small concern for the safety of his brother, who, as one of Cæsar's lieutenants, was to bear a considerable part in it †. But the accounts which he received from the place, soon eased him of his apprehensions, by informing him, that there was nothing either to fear or to hope from the attempt; no danger from the people, no spoils from the country ‡. In a letter from Atticus, "we are in suspense," says he, "about the British war: it is certain, that "the access of the island is strongly fortified; and it is known also already, that there is not a grain of "silver in it, nor any thing else but slaves; of whom "you will scarce expect any, I dare say, skilled in "music or letters §." In another to Trebatius; "I "hear that there is not either any gold or silver in the "island; if so, you have nothing to do but to take "one of their chariots, and fly back to us ||."

† Ex Quinti fratris literis suspicor jam eum esse in Britannia: suspenso animo expecto quid agat—Ad Att. 4. 15.

‡ O jucundas mihi tuas de Britannia literas! Timebam oceanum, timebam littus insulæ. Reliqua non equidem contemno. Ad Quint. 1. 16.

De Britannicis rebus cognovi ex tuis literis, nihil esse nec quod metuamus, nec quod gaudeamus. Ib. 3, 1.

§ Britannici belli exitus expectatur. Constat enim aditus insulæ munitos esse mirificis molibus. Etiam illud jam cognitum est, neque argenti scrupulum esse ullum in illa insula, neque ullam spem prædæ, nisi ex mancipiis; ex quibus nullos puto te literis, aut musicis eruditos expectare. Ad Att. 4. 16.

|| In Britannia nihil esse audio neque auri neque argenti. Id si ita est, essedum aliquod suadeo capias, et ad nos quam primum recurras. Ep. Fam. 7. 7.

A. Urb. 699. Cic. 53. Cos.—L. Domitius Ahenobarbus, A. Claudius Pulcher.

From their railleries of this kind on the barbarity and misery of our island, one cannot help reflecting on the surprising fate and revolutions of kingdoms: how Rome, once the mistress of the world, the seat of arts, empire and glory, now lies sunk in sloth, ignorance, and poverty; enslaved to the most cruel, as well as to the most contemptible of tyrants, superstition and religious imposture; while this remote country, anciently the jest and contempt of the polite Romans, is become the happy seat of liberty, plenty, and letters; flourishing in all the arts and refinements of civil life; yet running perhaps the same course which Rome itself had run before it; from virtuous industry to wealth; from wealth to luxury; from luxury to an impatience of discipline and corruption of morals; till, by a total degeneracy and loss of virtue, being grown ripe for destruction, it falls at last a prey to some hardy oppressor, and, with the loss of liberty, losing every thing else that is valuable, sinks gradually again into its original barbarism.

Cicero, taking it for granted that Trebatius followed Cæsar into Britain, begins to joke with him upon the wonderful figure that a British lawyer would make at Rome; and, as it was his profession to guard other people's safety, bids him beware that he himself was not caught by the British charioteers *. But Trebatius, it seems, knew how to take care of himself with-

* Mira enim persona induci potest Britannici Juris consulti. Ep. fam. 7. xi.

Tu, qui cæteris cavere didicisti, in Britannia ne ab essedariis decipiaris caveto. Ib. 6.

A. Urb. 699. Cic. 53. Cæs. I. Domitius Ahenobarbus. A. Claudius Pulcher.

out Cicero's advices; and when Cæsar passed over to Britain, chose to stay behind in Gaul: this gave a fresh handle for raillery; and Cicero congratulates him "upon being arrived at last into a country where he "was thought to know something; that if he had "gone over also to Britain, there would not have been "a man in all that great island wiser than himself." —He observes, "that he was much more cautious in "military, than in civil contests; and wonders, that, "being such a lover of swimming, he could not be "persuaded to swim in the ocean; and, when he "could not be kept away from every shew of gladi- "ators at Rome, had not the curiosity to see the Bri- "tish charioteers: he rejoices, however, after all, that "he did not go; since they should not now be trouble- "led with the impertinence of his British stories †."

Quintus Cicero, who had a genius for poetry, was projecting the plan of a poem, upon their British ex-

† Est, quod gaudeas, te in ista loca venisse, ubi aliquid sapere viderere: quod si in Britanniam quoque profectus esses, profecto nemo in illa tanta insula te peritior fuisset—Sed tu in re militari multo es cautior quam in advocationibus: qui neque in oceano *natare* voluisti, homo *studiosissimus notandi*, neque spectare esedarios, quem antea ne Audabatam quidem defraudare poteramus. Ib. x.

In Britanniam te profectum non esse gaudeo, quod et labore caruisti, et ego te de illis rebus non audiam. Ib. 17.

The little hint here given, of Trebatius's *love of swimming*, adds a new light and beauty to that passage of Horace, where the poet introduces him, advising, *to swim thrice cross the Tiber*, to cure the want of sleep; the advice, it seems, being peculiarly agreeable to his own practice and character.

——— *ter uncti*
Transnanto Tiberim, somno quibus est opus alto.
Sat. 2. 1. v. 8.

A. Urb. 699. Cic. 53. Cos.—L. Domitius Ahenobarbus. A. Claudius Pulcher.

pedition, and begged his brother's assistance in it: Cicero approved the design, and observed upon it, "that "the nature and situation of places so strange, the "manners of the people, their battles with them, and "the general himself, Cæsar, were excellent subjects "for poetry; but as to his assistance, it was sending "owls to Athens: that Quintus, who had finished "four tragedies in sixteen days, could not want either "help or fame in that way, after his Electra and the "Troades *." In other letters, he answers more seriously, that it was impossible to conceive how much he wanted leisure for versifying: that to write verses required an ease and cheerfulness of mind, which the times had taken from him; and that his poetical flame was quite extinguished by the sad prospect of things before him †.

* Te vero ἐυπόητον scribendi egregiam habere video. Quos tu situs, quas naturas rerum et locorum, quos mores, quas gentes, quas pugnas, quem vero ipsum imperatorem habes? Ego te libenter, ut rogas, quibus rebus vis, adjuvabo, et tibi versus, quos rogas, γλαῦκας εἰς Ἀθήνας mittam. Ad Quint. 2. 16.

Quatuor tragœdias, cum xvi. diebus absolvisse scribas, tu quidquam ab alio mutuaris? et κλέος quæris, cum Electram et Troadem scripseris? Ib. 3. 6.

N. B. These four tragedies, said to be written in sixteen days, cannot be supposed to have been original productions, but translations from some of the Greek poets, of which Quintus was a great master: finished by him in haste for the entertainment of the camp: for the word *Troadem* in the text, the name of one of them, should most probably be *Troades*, the title of one of Euripides's plays; as the *Electra* also was.

† Quod me de faciendis versibus rogas, incredibile est, mi frater, quantum egeam tempore—Facerem tamen ut possem, sed—opus est ad poema quadam animi alacritate, quam plane mihi tempora eripiunt. Ib. 3. 5.

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He had sent Cæsar his Greek poem in three books, on the history of his consulship; and Cæsar's judgment upon it was, that the beginning of it was as good as any thing which he had ever seen in that language, but that the following lines, to a certain place, were not equal in accuracy and spirit. Cicero desires therefore to know of his brother, what Cæsar really thought of the whole; whether the matter or the stile displeased him; and begs that he would tell him the truth freely; "since whether Cæsar liked it or not, he should "not," he says, "be a jot the less pleased with him-"self*." He began however another poem, at his brother's earnest request, to be addressed to Cæsar, but, after some progress, was so dissatisfied with it, that he tore it †: yet Quintus still urging, and signifying, that he had acquainted Cæsar with the design, he was obliged to resume it, and actually finished an epic poem in honour of Cæsar; which he promises to send as soon as he could find a proper conveyance, that it might not be lost, as Quintus's tragedy of Erigone was in coming from Gaul; "the only thing," says he,

De versibus—deest mihi opera, quæ non modo tempus, sed etiam animum ab omni cura vacuum desiderat: sed abest etiam ἐνθουσιασμὸς &c. Ib. 4.

* Sed heus tu, celari videor a te quo modo nam, mi frater, de nostris versibus Cæsar? Nam primum librum se legisse scripsit ad me ante: et prima sic, ut neget se ne Græca quidem meliora legisse; reliqua ad quendam locum ῥυθμώτερα. Hoc enim utitur verbo. Dic mihi verum, num aut res eum aut χαρακτὴς non delectat? Nihil est quod vereare. Ego enim ne pilo quidem minus me amabo. Ib. 2. 16.

† Poema ad Cæsarem, quod composueram, incidi. Ib. 3. 1. §. 4.

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"which had not found a safe passage, since Cæsar go-
"verned that province †."

While Cicero was expressing no small dissatisfaction at the measures which his present situation obliged him to pursue, Cæsar was doing every thing in his power to make him easy: he treated his brother with as much kindness as if Cicero himself had been his general; gave him the choice of his winter quarters, and the legion which he best liked ‡: and Clodius, happening to write to him from Rome, he shewed the letter to Quintus, and declared that he would not answer it; though Quintus civilly pressed him not to put such an affront upon Clodius for their sakes *. In the midst of all his hurry in Britain, he sent frequent accounts to Cicero, in his own hand, of his progress and success; and at the instant of quitting the island, wrote to him from the very shore, of the embarkment of the troops, and, his having taken hostages, and imposed a tribute: and, lest he should be surprised at having no letter at

* Quod me institutum ad illum poema jubes perficere; etsi distentus tum opera, tum animo sum multo magis, quoniam ex epistola, quam ad te miseram, cognovit Cæsar me aliquid esse exorsum; revertar ad institutum. Ib. 8.

Quod me hortaris, ut absolvam, habeo absolutum suave, mihi quidem uti videtur, ἴσως ad Cæsarem. Sed quæro locupletem tabellarium, ne accidat quod Erigonæ tuæ; cui soli, Cæsare imperatore, iter ex Gallia tutum non fuit. Ib. 9.

‡ Quintum meum—Dii boni! quemadmodum tractat, honore, dignitate, gratia? Non secus ac si ego essem imperator. Hibernam legionem eligendi optio delata commodum, ut ad me scribit. Ad Att. 4. 18.

* In qua primum est de Clodii ad Cæsarem literis, in quo Cæsaris consilium probo, quod tibi amantissime petenti veniam non dedit, ut ullum ad illam Furiam verbum rescriberet. Ad Quint. 1. §. 4.

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the same time from his brother, he acquaints him, that Quintus was then at a distance from him, and could not take the benefit of that express: Cicero received all these letters at Rome, in less than a month after date, and takes notice, in one of them, that it arrived on the twentieth day; a dispatch equal to that of our present couriers by the post †.

As to the news of the city, this summer, Cicero tells his brother, "that there were some hopes of an elec-"tion of magistrates, but those uncertain; some sus-"picion of a dictator, yet that not more certain; a "great calm in the forum; but of a city, seemed to "be quieted rather by the effects of age, than of con-"cord: that his own conduct, as well in public as in "private, was just what Quintus had advised, softer "than the tip of his ear; and his votes in the senate, "such as pleased others rather than himself.

"Such ills does wretched war and discord breed,

"that bribery was never carried so high, as at this "time, by the consular candidates, Memmius, Domi-"tius, Scaurus, Messala; that they were all alike; no "eminence in any; for money levelled the dignity of

† Ab Quinto fratre et a Cæsare accepi A. D. IX. Kal. Nov. literas, confecta Britannia, obsidibus acceptis, nulla præda, imperata tamen pecunia, datas a littoribus Britanniæ, proximo A. D. VI. Kal. Octob. exercitum Britannia reportabant. Ad Att. 4. 17.

Ex Britannia Cæsar ad me Kal. Sept. dedit literas: quas ego accepi A. D. IIII. Kal. Octob. satis commodas de Britannicis rebus: quibus, ne admirer, quod a te nullas acceperim, scribit se sine te fuisse, cum ad mare accesserit. Ad Quint. 3. 1. §. 7.

Cum hanc jam epistolam complicarem, tabellarii a vobis venerunt ad D. XI. Kal. Sept. vicesimo die. Ib. 3. 1. §. 5.

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"them all: that above eighty thousand pounds was "promised to the first tribe; and money grown so "scarce, by this profusion of it, that interest was risen "from four, to eight per cent *."

Memmius and Cn. Domitius, who joined their interests, made a strange sort of contract with the consuls, which was drawn up in writing, and attested in proper form by many of their friends on both sides; by which, "the consuls obliged themselves, to serve "them with all their power in the ensuing election; "and they on their part undertook, when elected, to "procure for the consuls what provinces they desired; "and gave a bond of above 3000 l. to provide three "augurs, who should testify, that they were present "at making a law for granting them those provinces, "when no such law had ever been made; and two "consular senators, who should affirm, that they were "present likewise at passing a decree of the senate, "for furnishing the same provinces with arms and "money, when the senate had never been consulted "about it †." Memmius, who was strongly support-

* Res Romanæ sic se habebant. Erat nonnulla spes comitiorum, sed incerta: erat aliqua suspicio Dictaturæ, ne ea quidem certa: summum otium forense; sed senescentis magis civitatis, quam adquiescentis. Sententia autem nostra in senatu ejusmodi, magis ut alii nobis assentiantur, quam nosmet ipsi.——
Τοιαυθ' ὁ τλήμων πόλεμος ἐξεργάζεται. Eurip. Iketid.
Ambitus redit immanis, nunquam par fuit. Ad Quint. 2. 15.
Sequere me nunc in campum. Ardet ambitus: σῆμα δέ τοι ἐρέω; fœnus ex triente Idib. Quint. factum erat bessibus—ἐξοχὴ in nullo est, pecunia omnium dignitatem exæquat——Ad Att. 4. 15.

† Consules flagrant infamia, quod C. Memmius candidatus pactionem in senatu recitavit, quam ipse et suus competitor Domitius cum

A. Urb. 699. Cic. 5. Coss.—L. Domitius Ahenobarbus. A. Claudius Pulcher.

ed by Cæsar ‡. finding some reason to dislike his bargain, resolved to break it, and, by Pompey's advice, gave an account of it to the senate. Pompey was pleased with the opportunity of mortifying the consul Domitius; and willing likewise to take some revenge on Appius, who, though his near relation, did not enter so fully as he expected into his measures *: but Cæsar was much out of humour at this step †; as it was likely to raise great scandal in the city, and strengthen the interest of those who were endeavouring to restrain that infamous corruption, which was the main instrument of advancing his power. Appius never changed countenance, nor lost any credit by the discovery; but his colleague Domitius, who affected the character of a patriot, was extremely discomposed; and Memmius, now grown desperate, resolved to promote the general disorder, and the creation of a Dictator ‡.

Quintus sent his brother word from Gaul, that it

cum consulibus fecissent, uti ambo H. S. quadragena consulibus darent, si essent ipsi consules facti, nisi tres augures dedissent, qui se adfuisse dicerent, cum lex curiata ferretur, quæ lata non esset; et duo consulares, qui se dicerent in ornandis provinciis consularibus scribendo affuisse, cum omnino ne senatus quidem affuisset. Hæc pactio non verbis sed nominibus et perscriptionibus, multorum tabulis cum esse facta diceretur, prolata a Memmio est nominibus inductis, auctore Pompeio—Ad Att. 4. 18.

‡ Memmium Cæsaris omnes opes confirmant——Ib. 15. 17.

* Dio. l. 39. p. 118.

† Ut qui jam intelligebamus enunciationem illam Memmii valde Cæsari displicere—Ad Att. 4. 16.

‡ Hic Appius erat idem; nihil sane jacturæ. Corruerat alter, et plane, inquam, jacebat. Memmius autem—plane refrixerat, et eo magis nunc cogitare Dictaturam, tum favere justitio et omnium rerum licentiæ. Ib. 18.

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was reported there that he was present at this contract: but Cicero assures him that it was false, and that the bargain was of such a nature, as Memmius had opened it to the senate, that no honest man could have been present at it *. The senate was highly incensed; and, to check the insolence of the parties concerned, passed a decree, that their conduct should be inquired into by what they called a private, or silent judgment; where the sentence was not to be declared till after the election, yet so, as to make void the election of those who should be found guilty: this they resolved to execute with rigour, and made an allotment of judges for that purpose: for some of the Tribunes were prevailed with to interpose their negative, on pretence of hindering all inquisitions, not specially authorised by the people †.

This detestable bargain of forging laws and decrees at pleasure, in which so many of the first ranks were concerned, either as principals or witnesses, is alleged, by an ingenious French writer, as a flagrant instance of that libertinism which hastened the destruction of Rome ‡. So far are private vices from being public

* Quod scribis te audisse, in candidatorum consularium coitione me interfuisse, id falsum est. Ejusmodi enim pactiones in ista coitione factæ sunt, quas postea Memmius patefecit, ut nemo bonus interesse debuerit——Ad Quint. 3. 1. §. 5.

† At senatus decrevit ut tacitum judicium ante comitia fieret ——Magnus timor candidatorum. Sed quidam judices—Tribunos pl. appellarunt, ne injussu populi judicarent. Res cadit, comitia dilata ex S. C. dum lex de tacito judicio ferretur. Venit legi dies. Terentius intercessit.——Ad Att. 4. 16.

‡ Considerations sur les causes de la grandeur, &c. des Romains. C. X.

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benefits, that this great republic, of all others the most free and flourishing, owed the loss of its liberty to nothing else but a general defection of its citizens, from the probity and discipline of their ancestors. Cicero often foretels their approaching ruin from this very cause; and when he bewails the wretchedness of the times, usually joins the wickedness of their morals as the genuine source of it †.

But lest these corrupt candidates should escape without punishment, they were all publicly impeached by different prosecutors, and the city was now in a great ferment about them; "since," as Cicero says, "either the men or laws must necessarily perish; yet "they will all," says he, "be acquitted; for trials are "now managed so corruptly, that no man will ever "be condemned for the future, unless for murder ‡." But Q. Scævola, one of the tribunes, took a more effectual way to mortify them, by resolving to hinder any election of consuls during his magistracy, in which he persevered, and by his authority dissolved all the assemblies convened for that purpose *. The tribu-

† His præsertim moribus atque temporibus, quibus ita prolapsa resp. est, ut omnium opibus refrænanda, ac coercenda sit. De Divin. 2. 2.

Qui sit remp. afflictam et oppressam miseris temporibus, ac perditis morbus, in veterem dignitatem et libertatem vindicaturus.—Ep. Fam. 2. 5.

‡ De ambitu postulati sunt omnes, qui consulatum petant—Magno res in motu est. Propterea quod aut hominum aut legum interitus ostenditur—Ad Quin. 3. 2.

Sed omnes absolventur, nec posthac quisquam damnabitur, nisi qui hominem occiderit. Ad Att. 4. 16.

* Comitiorum quotidie singuli dies tolluntur obnunciationibus, magna voluntate bonorum—Ad Quin. 3. 3.

Obnunciationibus

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nitian candidates, however, were remarkably modest this year; for they made an agreement among themselves, which they all confirmed by oath, "That in "prosecuting their several interests, they would submit their conduct to the judgment of Cato, and deposit four thousand pounds a-piece in his hands, "to be forfeited by those whom he should condemn "of any irregular practice. If the election proves "free," says Cicero, "as it is thought it will, Cato "alone can do more than all the laws and all the "judges †."

A great part of this year was taken up in public trials: Saffenas and C. Cato, who had been tribunes two years before, were tried in the beginning of July, for violence and breach of peace in their magistracy, and both acquitted; but Procilius, one of their colleagues, "was condemned for killing a citizen in his "own house: whence we are to collect," says Cicero, "that our Areopagites value neither bribery nor elections, nor interregnums, nor attempts against the "state, nor the whole republic, a rush: we must not "murder a man indeed in his own house, though that "perhaps might be done moderately, since twenty-"two acquitted Procilius, when twenty-eight con-

Obnunciationibus per Scævolam interpositis, singulis diebus—— Ad Att. 4. 16.

† Tribunitii candidati jurarunt se arbitrio Catonis petituros: apud eum H. S. quingena deposuerunt; ut qui a Catone damnatus esset, id perderet, et competitoribus tribueretur—Si comitia, ut putantur, gratuita fuerint; plus unus Cato potuerit, quam omnes quidem judices. Ib. 15. Ad Quin. 2. 15.

"demned him *." Clodius was the accuser in these impeachments, which made Cato, as soon as he was acquitted, seek a reconciliation with Cicero and Milo †. It was not Cicero's business to reject the friendship of an active and popular senator, and Milo had occasion for his service, in his approaching suit for the consulship. But though Cicero had no concern in these trials, he was continually employed in others, through the rest of the summer: "I was never," says he, "more busy in trials than now; in the worst season of the year, and the greatest heats that we ever "have known, there scarce passes a day in which I "do not defend some ‡." Besides his clients in the city, he had several towns and colonies under his patronage, which sometimes wanted his help abroad, as the corporation of Reate did now, to plead for them before the consul Appius, and ten commissioners, in a controversy with their neighbours of Iteramna, about draining the lake Velinus into the river Nar, to the damage of their grounds. He returned from this cause in the midst of the Apollinarian shows, and, to relieve himself from the fatigue of his journey, went

* III. Non. Quint. Suffenas et Cato absoluti: Procilius condemnatus. Ex quo intellectum est, τριταρειοπαγίτας, ambitum, comitia, interregnum, majestatem, totam deinque remp. flocci non facere. Debemus patrem familias domi suæ occidere nolle, neque tamen id ipsum abunde. Nam absolverunt 22, condemnarunt 28 ——Ad Att. 4. 15.

† Is tamen et mecum et cum Milone in gratiam rediit. Ib. 16.

‡ Sic enim habeto nunquam me a causis et judiciis districtiorem fuisse, atque id anni tempore gravissmio, et caloribus maximis. Ad Quint. 2. 16.

Diem scito esse nullum, quo non dico pro reo. Ib. 3. 3.

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directly to the theatre, where he was received by an universal clap: in the account of which to Atticus, he adds, but this you are not to take notice of, and I am a fool indeed myself for mentioning it *.

He now also defended Messius, one of Cæsar's lieutenants, who came from Gaul on purpose to take his trial: then Drusus, accused of prevaricating or betraying a cause, which he had undertaken to defend; of which he was acquitted by a majority only of four voices. After that Vatinius, the last year's prætor, and Æmilius Scaurus, one of the consular candidates, accused of plundering the province of Sardinia †; and about the same time likewise, his old friend, Cn. Plancius; who had entertained him so generously in his exile, and, being now chosen Ædile, was accused by a disappointed competitor, M. Laterensis, of bribery and corruption. All these were acquitted, but the orations for them are lost, except that for Plancius; which remains a perpetual monument of Cicero's gratitude: for Plancius having obtained the tribunate from the people, as the reward of his fidelity to Cicero, did not behave himself in that post, with the same

* Reatini me ad sua [illegible] duxerunt, ut agerem causam contra Interamnates—Redii Romam—Veni in spectaculum; primum magno et æquabili plausu, (sed hoc ne curaris; ego ineptus qui scripserim)——Ad Att. 4. 15.

† Messius defendebatur a nobis, e legatione revocatus. Deinde me expedio ad Drusum, inde ad Scaurum. Ibid.

Drusus erat de prævaricatione—absolutus, in summa quatuor sententiis. Eodem die post meridiem Vatinium aderam defensurus; ea res facilis. Scauri judicium statim exercebitur, cui nos non deerimus. Ad Quin. 2. 16.

Scaurum beneficio defensionis valde obligavi. Ib. 3. 1. §. 5.

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affection to him as before, but seems studiously to have slighted him; while several of his colleagues, and especially Racilius, were exerting all their power in the defence of his person and dignity *. Yet Cicero freely undertook his cause, and, as if no coldness had intervened, displayed the merit of his services in the most pathetic and affecting manner; and rescued him from the hands of a powerful accuser, and his own particular friend. "Drusus's trial was held in the "morning; from which, after going home to write a "few letters, he was obliged to return to Vatinius's in "the afternoon:" which gives us a specimen of the hurry in which he generally lived, and of the little time which he had to spend upon his private affairs, or his studies; and though he was now carrying on several great works of the learned kind, "yet he had "no other leisure," he tells us, "for meditating and "composing, but when he was taking a few turns in "his gardens, for the exercise of his body, and refresh-"ment of voice †." Vatinius had been one of his fiercest enemies; was in a perpetual opposition to him in politics; and, like Bestia, mentioned above, a seditious, profligate, abandoned libertine: so that the defence of him gave a plausible handle for some censure upon Cicero: but his engagements with Pompey, and especially his new friendship with Cæsar, made it ne-

* Negas tribunatum Plancii quicquam attulisse adjumenti dignitati meæ. Atque hoc loco, quod verissime facere potes. L. Racilii—divina in me merita commemoras, &c. Pro Plancio, 32.

† Ita quicquid conficio aut cogito in ambulationis fere tempus confero. Ad Quint. 3. 3.

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cessary to embrace all Cæsar's friends; among whom Vatinius was most warmly recommended to him.

Gabinius being recalled, as has been said, from his government, returned to Rome about the end of September: he bragged every where on his journey, that he was going to the demand of a triumph; and, to carry on that farce, continued a while without the gates; till perceiving how odious he was to all within, he stole privately into the city by night, to avoid the disgrace of being insulted by the populace *. There were three different impeachments provided against him: the first, for treasonable practices against the state; the second, for the plunder of his province; the third, for bribery and corruption; and so many persons offered themselves to be prosecutors, that there was a contest among them before the prætor, how to adjust their several claims †. The first indictment fell to L. Lentulus, who accused him the day after he entered the city, "that, in defiance of religion and "the decree of the senate, he had restored the king "of Egypt with an army, leaving his own province "naked, and open to the incursion of enemies, who "had made great devastation in it." Cicero, who had received from Gabinius all the provocation which one

* Ad urbem accessit A. D. xii. Kal. Oct. nihil turpius, nec desertius. Ad Qu. Fr. 3. 1. § 5.

Cum Gabinius, quacunque se postulare dixisset, subitoque bonus imperator noctu in urbem, hostium plane, invasisset. Ib. 2.

† Gabinium tres adhuc factiones postulant, &c. Ib. 1. § 5.

Cum hæc scribebam, ante lucem, apud Catonem erat divinatio Gabinium futura, inter Memmium, et Tl. Neronem, et C. et Antonios. Ib. 2.

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man could receive from another, had the pleasure to see his insolent adversary at his feet, and was prepared to give him such a reception as he deserved; but Gabinius durst not venture to shew his head for the first ten days, till he was obliged to come to the senate, in order to give them an account, according to custom, of the state of his province, and the troops which he had left in it: As soon as he had told his story, he was going to retire, but the consuls detained him, to answer to a complaint brought against him by the publicans, or farmers of the revenues, who were attending at the doors to make it good. This drew on a debate, in which Gabinius was so urged and teized on all sides, but especially by Cicero, that, trembling with passion, and unable to contain himself, he called Cicero a banished man; upon which, says Cicero, in a letter to his brother, "nothing ever happened more honourable to me: the whole senate left "their seats to a man, and, with a general clamour, "ran up to his very face; while the publicans also "were equally fierce and clamorous against him, and "the whole company behaved just as you yourself "would have done *."

* Interim ipso decimo die, quo ipsum oportebat hostium numerum et renunciare, in re hæsit, summa in frequentia: cum vellet exire, a consulibus retentus est; introducti publicani. Homo undique actus, cum a me maxime vulneraretur, non tulit, et me trementi voce exulem appellavit. Hic, O Dii, nihil unquam honorificentius nobis accidit. Consurrexit senatus cum clamore ad unum, sic ut ad corpus ejus accederet. Pari clamore atque impetu publicani. Quid quæris? Omnes, tanquam, si tu esses, ita fuerunt. Ib.

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Cicero had been deliberating for some time, whether he should not accuse Gabinius himself; but, out of regard to Pompey, was content to appear only as a witness against him †; and, when the trial was over, gives the following account of it to his brother.

"Gabinius is acquitted: nothing was ever so stupid as his accuser Lentulus; nothing so sordid as the bench: yet if Pompey had not taken incredible pains, and the rumour of a dictatorship had not infused some apprehensions, he could not have held up his head even against Lentulus: since, with such an accuser, and such judges; of the seventy-two who sat upon him, thirty-two condemned him. The sentence is so infamous, that he seems likely to fall in the other trials, especially that of plunder: but there is no republic, no senate, no justice, no dignity, in any of us: what can I say more of the judges? There were but two of them of prætorian rank, Domitius Calvinus, who acquitted him so forwardly, that all the world might see it; and Cato, who, as soon as the votes were declared, ran officiously from the bench, to carry the first news to Pompey. Some say, and particularly Sallust, that I ought to have accused him: but should I risk my credit with such judges? What a figure should I have made, if he had escaped from me? But there were other things which influenced me: Pompey would have consi-

† Ego tamen me teneo ab accusando vix mehercule. Sed tamen teneo, vel quod nolo cum Pompeio pugnare; satis est, quod instat de Milone. Ib. 3. 2.

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"dered it as a struggle, not about Gabinius's safety, "but his own dignity: it must have made a breach "between us; we should have been matched like a "pair of gladiators; as Pacidianus with Æsuminus "the Samnite; he would probably have bitt off one "of my ears, or been reconciled at least with Clodius "—for, after all the pains which I had taken to serve "him; when I owed nothing to him, he every thing "to me; yet he would not bear my differing from "him in public affairs, to say no worse of it; and, "when he was less powerful than he is at present, "shewed what power he had against me, in my "flourishing condition; why should I now, when I "have lost even all desire of power, when the repub- "lic certainly has none; when he alone has all; "chuse him of all men to contend with; for that "must have been the case: I cannot think that you "would have advised me to it. Sullust says, that I "ought to have done either the one or the other; "and in compliment to Pompey have defended him; "who begged it of me indeed very earnestly—A spe- "cial friend this Sallust! to wish me to involve my- "self either in a dangerous enmity, or perpetual in- "famy. I am delighted with my middle way; and "when I had given my testimony faithfully and re- "ligiously, was pleased to hear Gabinius say, that if "it should be permitted to him to continue in the "city, he would make it his business to give me satis- "faction; nor did he so much as interrogate me—*."

* Ad Quint. 3. 4.

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He gives the same account of this trial to his other friends; "how Lentulus acted his part so ill, that peo-"ple were persuaded that he prevaricated—and that "Gabinius's escape was owing to the indefatigable "industry of Pompey, and the corruption of the "Bench *.

About the time of this trial there happened a terrible inundation of the Tiber, which did much damage at Rome: many houses and shops were carried away by it, and the fine gardens of Cicero's son-in-law, Crassipes, demolished. It was all charged to the absolution of Gabinius, after his daring violation of religion, and contempt of the Sibyl's books: Cicero applies to it the following passage of Homer †.

As when in autumn Jove his fury pours,
And earth is loaden with incessant showers;
When guilty mortals break th' eternal laws,
And judges brib'd betray the righteous cause,
From their deep beds he bids the rivers rise,
And opens all the flood-gates of the skies.

POPE, Iliad. 16. v. 456.

But Gabinius's danger was not yet over: he was to be tried a second time, for the plunder of his province;

* Quomodo ergo absolutus?——Accusatorum incredibilis infamia, id est L. Lentuli, quem fremunt omnes prævaricatum; deinde Pompeii mira contentio, judicum sordes. Ad Att. 4. 16.

† Romæ, et maxime Appia ad Martis, mira proluvies. Crassipedis ambulatio ablata, horti, tabernæ plurimæ. Magna vis aquæ usque ad piscinam publicam. Viget illud Homeri——Cadit enim in absolutionem Gabinii—Ad Quint. 3. 7.

A. Urb. 699. Cic. 53. Cos.—L. Domitius Ahenobarbus: A. Claudius Pulcher.

where C. Memmius, one of the tribunes, was his accuser, and M. Cato his judge, with whom he was not likely to find any favour: Pompey pressed Cicero to defend him, and would not admit of any excuse; and Gabinius's humble behaviour in the late trial was intended to make way for Pompey's solicitation. Cicero stood firm for a long time: "Pompey," says he, "labours hard with me, but has yet made no impres-"sion, nor, if I retain a grain of liberty, ever will †;

Oh! e'er that dire disgrace shall blast my fame,
O'erwhelm me earth—— Iliad. 4. 218.

but Pompey's incessant importunity, backed by Cæsar's earnest request, made it vain to struggle any longer; and forced him, against his judgement, his resolution, and his dignity, to defend Gabinius; at a time when his defence at last proved of no service to him; for he was found guilty by Cato, and condemned of course to a perpetual banishment. It is probable that Cicero's oration was never published, but as it was his custom to keep the minutes or rough draught of all his pleadings, in what he called his commentaries, which were extant many ages after his death ‡; so St Jerom has preserved from them a small

† Pompeius a me valde contendit de reditu in gratiam, sed adhuc nihil profecit: nec, si ullam partem libertatis tenebo, proficiet.—Ad Quint. 3. 1. §. 5.

De Gabinio nihil fuit faciendum istorum, &c. τότε μοι χάσσε Il. 4. 218.

‡ Quod fecisse M. Tullium commentariis ipsius apparet. Quintil. l. x. c. 7.

A. Urb. 699. Cic. 53. Cos.—L. Domitius Ahenobarbus. A. Claudius Pulcher.

fragment of this speech; which seems to be a part of the apology that he found himself obliged to make for it; wherein he observes, "that when Pompey's "authority had once reconciled him to Gabinius, it "was no longer in his power to avoid defending him; "for it was ever my persuasion," says he, "that all "friendships should be maintained with a religious "exactness; but especially those which happen to "be renewed from a quarrel: for in friendships, that "have suffered no interruption, a failure of duty is "easily excused by a plea of inadvertency, or at the "worst, of negligence; whereas, if after a reconcilia-"tion any new offence be given, it never passes for "negligent, but wilful; and is not imputed to im-"prudence, but to perfidy *."

The proconsul, Lentulus, who resided still in Cilicia, having had an account from Rome, of Cicero's change of conduct, and his defence of Vatinius, wrote a sort of expostulatory letter to him, to know the reasons of it; telling him, that he had heard of his reconciliation with Cæsar and Appius, for which he did not blame him; but was at a loss how to account for his new friendship with Crassus; and above all, what it was, that induced him to defend Vatinius. This gave occasion to that long and elaborate answer from Cicero, already referred to, written before Gabinius's trial: which would otherwise have made his apology more difficult, in which he lays open the motives and progress of his whole behaviour from the time of his

* Vid. Fragment. Orationum.—

A. Urb. 699. Cic. 53. Coss.—L. Domitius Ahenobarbus. A. Claudius Pulcher.

exile—"As to the case of Vatinius," he says, "as "soon as he was chosen prætor, where I warmly op- "posed him, in favour of Cato, Pompey prevailed with "me to be reconciled to him; and Cæsar afterwards "took surprising pains with me to defend him; to "which I consented, for the sake of doing what, as I "told the court at the trial, *the Parasite, in the Eu-* "*nuch*, advised his patron to do:

"*Whenever she talks of Phædria, do you presently* "*praise Pamphila, &c.* so I begged of the judges, "that since certain persons of distinguished rank, to "whom I was much obliged, were so fond of my ene- "my, and affected to caress him in the senate before "my face, with all the marks of familiarity; and since "they had their Publius to give me jealousy, I might "be allowed to have my Publius also, to teize them "with in my turn." Then as to his general conduct, he makes this general defence; "that the union and "firmness of the honest, which subsisted when Lentu- "lus left Rome, confirmed, says he, by my consulship "and revived by yours, is now quite broken and de- "serted by those who ought to have supported it, and "were looked upon as patriots; for which reason, the "maxims and measures of all wise citizens, in which "class I always wish to be ranked, ought to be chan- "ged too: for it is a precept of Plato, whose authority "has the greatest weight with me, to contend in pub- "lic affairs, as far as we can persuade our citizens, but "not to offer violence, either to our parent or our "country. If I was quite free from all engagements, "I should act therefore as I now do; should not think

A. Urb. 699. Cic. 53. Cos.—L. Domitius Ahenobarbus. A. Claudius Pulcher.

" it prudent, to contend with so great a power; nor if
" it could be effected, to extinguish it in our present
" circumstances; nor continue always in one mind,
" when the things themselves and the sentiments of
" the honest are altered; since a perpetual adherence
" to the same measures has never been approved by
" those, who know best how to govern estates: but as
" in sailing, it is the business of art, to be directed by
" the weather, and foolish to persevere with danger in
" the course, in which we set out, rather than, by
" changing it, to arrive with safety, though later,
" where we intended; so to us, who manage public
" affairs, the chief end proposed being dignity with
" public quiet, our business is not to be always saying,
" but always aiming at the same thing. Wherefore
" if all things, as I said, were wholly free to me, I
" should be the same man that I now am: but when
" I am invited to this conduct on the one side by kind-
" nesses, and driven to it on the other by injuries, I
" easily suffer myself to vote and act what I take to
" be useful both to myself and the republic; and I do
" it the more freely, as well on the account of my bro-
" ther's being Cæsar's lieutenant, as that there is not
" the least thing, which I have ever said or done for
" Cæsar, but what he has repaid with such eminent
" gratitude, as persuades me that he takes himself to
" be obliged to me; so that I have as much use of all
" his power and interest, which you know to be the
" greatest, as if they were my own: nor could I other-
" wise have defeated the designs of my desperate ene-
" mies, if to those forces which I have always been

A. Urb. 699. Cic. 53. Coss—L. Domitius Ahenobarbus. A. Claudius Pulcher.

" master of, I had not joined the favour of the men of " power. Had you been here to advise me, I am per- " suaded that I should have followed the same mea- " sures: for I know your good nature and moderation; " I know your heart, not only the most friendly to me, " but void of all malevolence to others; great and no- " ble, open and sincere, &c. *." He often defends himself on other occasions by the same allusion to the " art of sailing: " I cannot reckon it inconstancy," says he, " to change and moderate our opinion, like " the course of a ship, by the weather of the republic; " this is what I have learnt, have observed, have read; " what the records of former ages have delivered, of " the wisest and most eminent citizens, both in this " and all other cities; that the same maxims are not " always to be pursued by the same men; but such, " whatever they be, which the state of the republic, " the inclination of the times, the occasions of public " peace require: this is what I am now doing, and " shall always do †."

The trial of C. Rabirius Posthumus, a person of equestrian rank, was an appendix to that of Gabinius. It was one of the articles against Gabinius, that he had received about two millions for restoring King

* Ep. Fam. 1. 9.

† Neque enim inconstantis puto, sententiam, tanquam aliquod navigium atque cursum ex reip. tempestate moderari. Ego vero hæc didici, hæc vidi, hæc scripta legi: hæc de sapientissimis et clarissimis viris, et in hac repub. et in aliis civitatibus monumenta nobis et literæ prodiderunt: non semper easdem sententias ab iisdem, sed quascumque reip. status, inclinatio temporum, ratio concordiæ postularet, esse defendendas. Quod ego et facio, et semper faciam. Pro Plancio. 39.

A. Urb. 699. Cic. 53. Coss.—L. Domitius Ahenobarbus. A. Claudius Pulcher.

Ptolemy; yet all his estate, which was to be found, was not sufficient to answer the damages, in which he was condemned; nor could he give any security for the rest: in this case, the method was, to demand the deficiency from those through whose hands the management of his money affairs had passed, and who were supposed to have been sharers in the spoil: this was charged upon Rabirius; and that he had advised Gabinius to undertake the restoration of the king, and accompanied him in it, and was employed to solicit the payment of the money, and lived at Alexandria for that purpose, in the king's service, as the public receiver of his taxes, and wearing the pallium or habit of the country.

Cicero urged, in defence of Rabirius, "that he had "borne no part in that transaction; but that his whole "crime, or rather folly, was, that he had lent the king "great sums of money for his support at Rome; and "ventured to trust a prince, who, as all the world then "thought, was going to be restored by the authority "of the Roman people: that the necessity of going "to Egypt for the recovery of that debt, was the "source of all his misery; where he was forced to "take whatever the king would give or impose: that "it was his misfortune, to be obliged to commit him-"self to the power of an arbitrary monarch: that no-"thing could be more mad, than for a Roman knight "and citizen, of all others the most free, to go to any "place where he must needs be a slave to the will of "another; that all who ever did so, as Plato and the "wisest had sometimes done too hastily, always suf-

A. Urb. 699. Cic. 53. Cos.—L. Domitius Ahenobarbus. A. Claudius Pulcher.

"fered for it: this was the case of Rabirius: neces-
"sity carried him to Alexandria; his whole fortunes
"were at stake *; which he was so far from improv-
"ing by his traffic with that king, that he was
"ill treated by him, imprisoned, threatened with
"death, and glad to run away at last with the loss of
"all: and, at that very time, it was wholly owing
"to Cæsar's generosity, and regard to the merit
"and misfortunes of an old friend, that he was
"enabled to support his former rank and equestrian
"dignity—— †." Gabinius's trial had so near a relation to this, and was so often referred to in it, that the prosecutors could not omit so fair an opportunity of rallying Cicero for the part which he had acted in it: Memmius observed, "that the deputies of Alexandria
"had the same reason for appearing for Gabinius,
"which Cicero had for defending him, the command
"of a master."—"No, Memmius," replied Cicero,
"my reason for defending him was a reconciliation
"with him; for, I am not ashamed to own, that my
"quarrels are mortal, my friendships immortal: and
"if you imagine that I undertook that cause for fear
"of Pompey, you neither know Pompey nor me; for
"Pompey would neither desire it of me against my
"will; nor would I, after I had preserved the liberty
"of my citizens, ever give up my own *."

* Pro Rabir. 8, 9. † Ib. 9.

* Ait etiam meus familiaris, eandem causam Alexandrinis fuisse, cur laudarent Gabinium, quæ mihi fuit, cur eundem defenderem. Mihi, C. Memmi, causa defendendi Gabinii fuit reconciliatio gratiæ.

A. Urb. 699. Cic. 53. Cos.—L. Domitius Ahenobarbus. A. Claudius Pulcher.

Valerius Maximus reckons Cicero's defence of Gabinius and Vatinius, among the great and laudable examples of humanity which the Roman history furnished; "as it is nobler," he says, "to conquer injuries "with benefits, than to repay them in kind, with an "obstinacy of hatred †." This turn is agreeable to the design of that writer, whose view it seems to be, in the collection of his stories, to give us rather what is strange, than true; and to dress up facts, as it were, into fables, for the sake of drawing a moral from them: for, whatever Cicero himself might say for it, in the flourishing stile of an oration, it is certain that he knew and felt it to be, what it really was, an indignity and dishonour to him, which he was forced to submit to by the iniquity of the times, and his engagements with Pompey and Cæsar, as he often laments to his friends in a very passionate strain: "I am afflicted," says he, "my dearest brother, I am afflicted, that there is no "republic, no justice in trials; that this season of my "life, which ought to flourish in the authority of the "senatorian character, is either wasted in the drudge-"ry of the bar, or relieved only by domestic studies; "that what I have ever been fond of from a boy,

In every virtuous act and glorious strife
To shine the first and best——

tiæ. Neque vero me pœnitet, mortales inimicitias, sempiternas amicitias habere. Nam si me invitum putas, Cn. Pompeii animum offenderem, defendisse causam, et illum et me vehementer ignoras. Neque enim Pompeius me sua causa quidquam facere voluisset invitum; neque egó, cui omnium civium libertas carissima fuisset, meam projecissem. Pro C. Rabir. Post. 12.

† Sed hujusce generis humanitas etiam in M. Cicerone præcipua apparuit, &c. Val. Max. 4. 2.

A. Urb. 699. Cic. 53. Coss.—L. Domitius Ahenobarbus. A. Claudius Pulcher.

" is wholly lost and gone; that my enemies are part-
" ly not opposed, partly even defended by me; and
" neither what I love, nor what I hate, left free to
" me *."

While Cæsar was engaged in the British expedition, his daughter Julia, Pompey's wife, died in child-bed at Rome, after she was delivered of a son, which died also soon after her. Her loss was not more lamented by the husband and father, who both of them tenderly loved her, than by all their common friends, and well-wishers to the public peace; who considered it as a source of fresh disturbance to the state, from the ambitious views and clashing interests of the two chiefs; whom the life of one so dear, and the relation of son and father, seemed hitherto to have united by the ties both of duty and affection †. Cæsar is said to have born the news of her death with an uncommon firmness ‡: it is certain, that he had lived long enough to serve all the ends which he proposed from that al-

* Angor, mi suavissime frater, angor, nullam esse reimp. nulla judicia, nostrumque hoc tempus ætatis, quod in illa senatoria auctoritate florere debebat, aut forensi labore jactari, aut domesticis litteris sustentari. Illud vero quod a puero adamaram,

Αἰὲν ἀριστεύειν, καὶ ὑπείροχον ἔμμεναι ἄλλων.

Il. ζ. 208.

totum occidisse; inimicos a me partim non oppugnatos; partim etiam esse defensos; meum non modo animum, sed ne odium quidem esse liberum. Ad Quin. 3. 5.

† Cum medium jam, ex invidia potentiæ male cohærentis inter Cn. Pompeium et C. Cæsarem, concordiæ pignus, Julia uxor Magni decessit. Filius quoque parvus, Julia natus, intra breve spatium obiit. Vell. Pat. 2. 47. Val. M. 4. 6.

‡ Cæsar—cum audivit decessisse filiam—inter tertium diem imperatoria obiit munera. Senec. Consol. ad Helv. p. 116.

A. Urb. 699. Cic. 53. Cos.—L. Domitius Ahenobarbus. A. Claudius Pulcher.

liance, and to procure for him every thing that Pompey's power could give: for while Pompey, forgetful of his honour and interest, was spending his time ingloriously at home, in the caresses of a young wife, and the delights of Italy; and, as if he had been only Cæsar's agent, was continually decreeing fresh honours, troops, and money to him; Cæsar was pursuing the direct road to empire; training his legions in all the toils and discipline of a bloody war; himself always at their head, animating them by his courage, and rewarding them by his bounty; till, from a great and wealthy province, having raised money enough to corrupt, and an army able to conquer all who could oppose him, he seemed to want nothing for the vast execution of his designs, but a pretext to break with Pompey; which, as all wise men foresaw, could not long be wanted, when Julia, the cement of their union, was removed. For though the power of the Triumvirate had given a dangerous blow to the liberty of Rome, yet the jealousies and separate interests of the chiefs obliged them to manage it with some decency; and to extend it but rarely, beyond the forms of the constitution; but whenever that league should happen to be dissolved, which had made them already too great for private subjects, the next contest of course must be for dominion, and the single mastery of the empire.

On the second of November, C. Pontinius triumphed over the Allobroges: he had been prætor, when Cicero was consul; and, at the end of his magistracy, obtained the government of that part of Gaul, which,

A. Urb. 699. Cic. 53. Coss.—L. Domitius Ahenobarbus. A. Claudius Pulcher.

having been tampering with Catiline in his conspiracy, broke out soon afterwards into open rebellion, but was reduced by the vigour of this general. For this service he demanded a triumph, but met with great opposition, which he surmounted with incredible patience: for he persevered in his suit, for five years successively; residing all that while, according to custom, in the suburbs of the city, till he gained his point at last by a kind of violence. Cicero was his friend, and continued in Rome on purpose to assist him; and the consul Appius served him with all his power; but Cato protested, that Pontinius should never triumph while he lived; "though this," says Cicero, "like "many of his other threats, will end at last in no-"thing." But the prætor Galba, who had been his lieutenant, having procured by stratagem an act of the people in his favour, he entered the city in his triumphal chariot, where he was so rudely received and opposed in his passage through the streets, that he was forced to make his way with his sword, and the slaughter of many of his adversaries *.

In the end of the year, Cicero consented to be one of Pompey's lieutenants in Spain; which he began to think convenient to the present state of his affairs, and

* Ea re non longius, quam vellem, quòd Pontinio ad triumphum volebam, adesse: etenim erit nescio quid negotioli, &c. Ad Quin. 3. 5.

Pontinius valet A. D. IV. Non. Novemb. triumphare. Huic obviam Cato et Servilius prætores aperte, et Q. Mucius tribunus. Sed erit cum Pontinio Appius consul. Cato tamen affirmat, se vivo illum non triumphare; id ego puto, ut multa ejusdem, ad nihil recasurum. Ad Att. 4. 16. It. Dio, l. 39. p. 120.

A. Urb. 699. Cic. 53. Coss.—L. Domitius Ahenobarbus. A. Claudius Pulcher.

resolved to set forward for that province, about the middle of January *: but this seemed to give some umbrage to Cæsar, who, by the help of Quintus, hoped to disengage him gradually from Pompey, and to attach him to himself; and with that view had begged of him in his letters, to continue at Rome †, for the sake of serving himself with his authority, in all affairs which he had occasion to transact there; so that out of regard probably to Cæsar's uneasiness, Cicero soon changed his mind, and resigned his lieutenancy; to which he seems to allude in a letter to his brother, where he says, that he had no second thoughts in whatever concerned Cæsar; that he would make good his engagements to him; and being entered into his friendship with judgment, was now attached to him by affection ‡.

He was employed at Cæsar's desire along with Oppius, in settling the plan of a most expensive and magnificent work, which Cæsar was going to execute at Rome, out of the spoils of Gaul; a new forum, with many grand buildings annexed to it; for the area of which alone they had contracted to pay to the several owners about five hundred thousand pounds; or

* Sed heus tu, scripseramne tibi me esse legatum Pompeio; et extra urbem quidem fore, ex Id. Jan. visum est hoc mihi ad multa quadrare. Ad Att. 4. 18.

† Quod mihi tempus, Romæ præsertim, ut iste me rogat, manenti, vacuum ostenditur?—Ad Quin. 2. 15.

‡ Ego vero nullas amiciores habere possum in Cæsaris rebus—Video id judicio facere. Jam enim debeo: sed tamen amore sum incensus.—Ad Quin. 3. 1. § 5.

A. Urb. 699. Cic. 53. Cos.—L. Domitius Ahenobarbus. A. Claudius Pulcher.

as Suetonius computes, near double that sum *. Cicero calls it a glorious piece of work, and says, that the partitions, or inclosures of the Campus Martius, in which the tribes used to vote, were all to be made new of marble, with a roof likewise of the same, and a stately portico carried round the whole, of a mile in circuit, to which a public hall or town-house was to be joined †. While this building was going forward, L. Æmilius Paulus was employed in raising another, not much inferior to it, at his own expence: for he repaired and beautified an ancient Basilica in the old forum; and built at the same time a new one with Phrygian columns, which was called after his own name; and is frequently mentioned by the later writers, as a fabric of wonderful magnificence, computed to have cost him three hundred thousand pounds §.

A. Urb 700. Cic. 54.

THE new tribunes pursued the measures of their predecessors, and would not suffer an election of consuls;

* Forum de manubiis inchoavit; cujus area super H. S. millies constitit. Suet. J. Cæs. 26.

† Itaque Cæsaris amici (me dico et Oppium, dirumparis licet) in monumentum illud, quod tu tollere laudibus solebas, ut forum laxaremus, et usque ad libertatis atrium explicaremus, consumsimus H. S. sexcenties: cum privatis non poterat transigi minore pecunia. Efficiemus rem gloriosissimam. Nam in Campo Martio septa tributis comitiis marmorea sumus, et tecta facturi, eaque cingemus excelsa porticu, ut mille passuum conficiatur. Simul adjungetur huic operi, villa etiam publica—Ad Att. 4. 16.

† Paulus in medio foro Basilicam jam pene texuit, iisdem an-

A. Urb. 700. Cic. 54.

so that when the new year came on, the republic wanted it's proper head: in this case, the administration fell into the hands of an Interrex; a provincial magistrate, who must necessarily be a patrician, and chosen by the body of patricians, called together for that purpose by the senate *. His power however was but short-lived, being transferred every five days, from one interrex to another, till an election of consuls could be obtained; but the tribunes, whose authority was absolute, while there were no consuls to controul them, continued fierce against any election at all: some were for reviving the ancient dignity of military tribunes; but that being unpopular, a more plausible scheme was taken up and openly avowed, of declaring Pompey Dictator. This gave great apprehensions to the city, for the memory of Sylla's dictatorship; and was vigourously opposed by all the chiefs of the senate, and especially by Cato: Pompey chose to keep himself out of sight, and retired into the country, to avoid the suspicion of affecting it. "The ru-
"mour of a Dictatorship, says Cicero, is disagreeable to
"the honest; but the other things, which they talk
"of, are more so to me: the whole affair is dreaded,
"but flags: Pompey flatly disclaims it, though he
"never denied it to me before: the tribune Hirrus
"will probably be the promoter; good gods! how
"silly and fond of himself without a rival? At Pom-
"pey's request, I have deterred Crassus Junianus, who

tiquis columnis: illam autem, quam locavit, facit magnificentissimam. Nihil gratius illo monumento, nihil gloriosius—Ibid.

* Vid. Ascon argument in Milon.—

"pays great regard to me, from meddling with it. It "is hard to know whether Pompey really desires it "or not; but if Hirrus stir in it, he will not convince "us that he is averse to it *." In another letter; No- "thing is yet done as to the dictatorship; Pompey is "still absent; Appius in a great bustle; Hirrus pre- "paring to oppose it; but several are named as ready "to interpose their negative: the people do not trou- "ble their heads about it; the chiefs are against it; "I keep myself quiet †." Cicero's friend, Milo, was irresolute how to act on this occasion; he was forming an interest for the consulship; and if he declared against a dictatorship, was afraid of making Pompey his enemy; or if he should not help the opponents, that it would be carried by force; in both which cases, his own pretensions were sure to be disappointed: he was inclined therefore to join in the opposition, but so far only as to repel any violence ‡.

The tribunes in the mean time were growing every day more and more insolent, and engrossing all

* Rumor Dictatoris injucundus bonis: mihi etiam magis quæ loquntur. Sed tota res et timebatur et refrigescit. Pompeius plane se negat velle: antea ipse mihi non negabat. Hirrus auctor fore videtur. O dii, quam ineptus, et quam se amans sine rivali! Crassum Junianum hominem mihi deditum, per me deterruit. Velit, nolit, scire difficile est. Hirro tamen agente, nolle se non probabit—Ad Quint. 3. 8.

† De dictatore tamen actum nihil est. Pompeius abest: Appius miscet: Hirrus parat: multi intercessores numerantur: populus non curat: principes nolunt: ego quiesco—Ib. 9.

‡ Hoc horret Milo—et si ille Dictator factus sit, pæne diffidit. Intercessorem dicaturæ si juverit manu et præsidio suo Pompeium metuit inimicum; si non juverit, timet, ne per vim perferatur—Ib. 8.

A. Urb. 700. Cic. 54.

power to themselves; till Q. Pompeius Rufus, the grandson of Sylla, and the most factious espouser of a dictator, was, by a resolute decree of the senate, committed to prison: and Pompey himself, upon his return to the city, finding the greater and better part utterly adverse to his dictatorship, yielding at last after an interregnum of six months, that Cn. Domitius Calvinus, and M. Messala should be declared consuls ‡. These were agreeable likewise to Cæsar: Cicero had particularly recommended Messala to him; of whom, he says in a letter to his brother; "As to your reck-
"oning Messala and Calvinus sure consuls, you agree
"with what we think here; for I will be answerable
"to Cæsar for Messala *.

A. Urb. 700. Cic. 54. Ons. Cn. Domitius Calvinus. M. Valerius Messala.

BUT after all this bustle about a Dictator, there seems to have been no great reason for being much afraid of it at this time: for the republic was in so great a disorder, that nothing less than a dictatorial power could reduce it to a tolerable state: some good of that kind might reasonably be expected from Pompey, without the fear of any great harm, while there was so sure a check upon him as Cæsar, who, upon any exorbitant use of that power, would have had the senate, and all the better sort, on his side, by the spe-

‡ Vid. Dio. l. 40. p. 141.

* Messalam quod certum consulem cum Domitio numeratis, nihil a nostra opinione dissentitis. Ego Messalam Cæsari præstabo —Ad Quint. 3. 8.

A. Urb. 700. Cic. 54. Coss.—Cn. Domitius Calvinus. M. Valerius Messala.

cious pretence of asserting the public liberty: Cicero therefore judged rightly, in thinking that there were other things which might be apprehended, and seemed likely to happen, that, in their present situation, were of more dangerous consequence than a dictatorship.

There had scarce been so long an interregnum in Rome since the expulsion of their kings, during which all public business, and especially all judicial proceedings, were wholly interrupted; which explains a jocose passage in one of Cicero's letters to Trebatius: "If you had not already," says he, "been absent "from Rome, you would certainly have run away "now: for what business is there for a lawyer in so "many interregnums? I would advise all my clients, "if sued in any action, to move every interrex twice "for more time: do not you think that I have learnt "the law of you to good purpose *?"

He now began a correspondence of letters with Curio, a young senator of distinguished birth and parts, who, upon his first entrance into the forum, had been committed to his care, and was at this time quæstor in Asia. He was possessed of a large and splendid fortune, by the late death of his father; so that Cicero, who knew his high spirit and ambition, and that he was formed to do much good or hurt to his coun-

* Nisi ante Roma profectus esses, nunc eam certe relinqueres. Quis enim tot interregnis jurisconsultum desiderat? Ego omnibus, unde petitur, hoc consilii dederim, ut a singulis interregibus binas advocationes postulent. Satisne tibi videor abs te jus civile didicisse? Ep. Fam. 7. 11.

A. Urb. 700. Cic. 54. Cos.—Cn. Domitius Calvinus. M. Valerius Messala.

try, was desirous to engage him early in the interests of the republic, and, by instilling great and generous sentiments, to inflame him with a love of true glory. Curio had sent orders to his agents at Rome, to proclaim a shew of gladiators, in honour of his deceased father; but Cicero stopped the declaration of it for a while, in hopes to dissuade him from so great and fruitless an expence †. He foresaw that nothing was more likely to corrupt his virtue, than the ruin of his fortunes, or to make him a dangerous citizen, than prodigality, to which he was naturally inclined, and which Cicero, for that reason, was the more desirous to check at his first setting out: but all his endeavours were to no purpose, Curio resolved to give the shew of gladiators; and, by a continual profusion of his money, answerable to this beginning, after he had acted the patriot for some time with credit and applause, was reduced at last to the necessity of selling himself to Cæsar.

There is but little of politics in these letters, besides some general complaints of the lost and desperate state of the republic. In one of them, after reckoning up the various subjects of epistolary writing: "Shall I joke with you then," says he, "in my letters? On my conscience, there is not a citizen, I believe, who can laugh in these times: or shall I write something serious? But what can Cicero write

† Rupæ studium non defuit declarandorum munerum tuo nomine: sed nec mihi placuit, nec cuiquam tuorum, quidquam te absente fieri, quod tibi, cum venisses, non esset integrum, &c. Ep. Fam. 2. 3.

A. Urb. 700. Cic. 54. Cos.—Cn. Domitius Calvinus. M. Valerius Messala.

" seriously to Curio, unless it be on the republic? " where my case at present is such, that I have no in- " clination to write what I do think—‡." In another, after putting him in mind of the incredible expectation which was entertained of him at Rome: " Not that I am afraid," says he, " that your virtue " should not come up to the opinion of the public, " but rather that you find nothing worth caring for " at your return, all things are so ruined and oppres- " sed: but I question whether it be prudent to say so " much—It is your part, however, whether you retain " any hopes, or quite despair, to adorn yourself with " all those accomplishments which can qualify a citi- " zen, in wretched times and profligate morals, to re- " store the republic to its ancient dignity *."

The first news from abroad, after the inauguration of the consuls, was of the miserable death of Crassus and his son Publius, with the total defeat of his army by the Parthians. This was one of the greatest blows that Rome had ever received from a foreign enemy, and for which it was ever after meditating revenge: the Roman writers generally imputed it to Crassus's contempt of the auspices, as some Christians have since charged it to his sacrilegious violation of the

‡ Jocerne tecum per literas? civem mehercule non puto esse, qui temporibus his ridere possit. An gravius aliquid scribam? Quid est quod possit graviter a Cicerone scribi ad Curionem, nisi de rep.? Atque in hoc genere hæc mea cansa est, ut neque ea, quæ non sentio, velim scribere——ib. 4.

* Non quo verear ne tua virtus opinioni hominum non respondeat: sed mehercule, ne cum veneris, non habeas jam quod cures: ita sunt omnia debilitata jam prope et extincta, &c. ib. 5.

A. Urb. 700. Cic. 54. Coss.—Cn. Domitius Calvinus. M. Valerius Messala.

temple of Jerusalem, which he is said to have plundered of two millions, both of them with equal superstition pretending to unfold the councils of heaven, and to fathom those depths which are declared to be unsearchable †. The chief and immediate concern which the city felt on this occasion, was for the detriment that the republic had suffered, and the danger to which it was exposed, by the loss of so great an army; yet the principal mischief lay in what they did not at first regard, and seemed rather to rejoice at, the loss of Crassus himself. For after the death of Julia, Crassus's authority was the only means left of curbing the power of Pompey, and the ambition of Cæsar; being ready always to support the weaker against the encroachments of the stronger, and keep them both within the bounds of a decent respect to the laws; but this check being now taken away, and the power of the empire thrown, as a kind of prize, between two, it gave a new turn to their several pretensions, and created a fresh competition for the larger share, which, as the event afterwards shewed, must necessarily end in the subversion of the whole.

Publius Crassus, who perished with his father in this fatal expedition, was a youth of an amiable character; educated with the strictest care, and perfectly instructed in all the liberal studies; he had a ready wit and

† M. Crasso quid acciderit, videmus dirarum obnunciatione neglecta. [De Dio, 1. 16.]

Being for his impious sacrilege at Jerusalem justly destined to destruction, God did cast infatuations into all his councils, for the leading him thereto——Prideaux. Connect. Par. 2. p. 362.

easy language; was grave without arrogance, modest without negligence, adorned with all the accomplishments proper to form a principal citizen and leader of the republic: by the force of his own judgment he had devoted himself very early to the observance and imitation of Cicero, whom he perpetually attended and reverenced with a kind of filial piety. Cicero conceived a mutual affection for him, and observing his eager thirst of glory, was constantly instilling into him the true notion of it; and exhorting him to pursue that sure path to it, which his ancestors had left beaten and traced out to him, through the gradual ascent of civil honours. But, by serving under Cæsar in the Gallic wars, he had learnt, as he fancied, a shorter way to fame and power, than what Cicero had been inculcating; and having signalized himself in a campaign or two as a soldier, was in too much haste to be a general; when Cæsar sent him at the head of a thousand horse, to the assistance of his father in the *Parthian* war. Here the vigour of his youth and courage carried him on so far, in the pursuit of an enemy, whose chief art of conquest consisted in flying, that he had no way left to escape, but what his high spirit disdained, by the desertion of his troops and a precipitate flight; so that, finding himself opposed with numbers, cruelly wounded, and in danger of falling alive into the hands of the *Parthians*, he chose to die by the sword of his armour-bearer. Thus while he aspired, as Cicero says, to the fame of another Cyrus or Alexander, he fell short of that glory which many of his predecessors had reaped, from a succession of honours,

A. Urb. 700. Cic. 54. Coss.—Cn. Domitius Calvinus. M. Valerius Messala.

conferred by their country, as the reward of their services *.

By the death of young Crassus, a place became vacant in the college of Augurs, for which Cicero declared himself a candidate: nor was any one so hardy as to appear against him, except Hirrus, the tribune, who, trusting to the popularity of his office and Pompey's favour, had the vanity to pretend to it: but a competition so unequal furnished matter of raillery only to Cicero: who was chosen without any difficulty or struggle, with the unanimous approbation of the whole body †. This college, from the last regulation of it by Sylla, consisted of fifteen, who were all persons of the first distinction in Rome: it was a priesthood for life, of a character indelible; which no crime or forfeiture could efface: the priests of all kinds were originally chosen by their colleges; till Domitius, a tribune, about fifty years before, transferred the choice of them to the people; whose authority was held to

* Hoc magis sum Publio deditus, quod me quanquam a pueritia semper, tamen hoc tempore maxime, sicut alterum parentem & observat & diligit [Ep. Fam. 5. 8]

P. Crassum ex omni nobilitate adolescentem dilexi plurimum, &c. [ib. 13. 16.]

"Cum P. Crasso, cum initio ætatis ad amicitiam se meam contulisset, sæpe egisse me arbitror, cum eum vehementissime hortarer, ut eam laudis viam rectissimam esse duceret, quam majores ejus ei tritam reliquissent. Erat enim cum institutus optime, tum plane perfecteque eruditus. Ineratque & ingenium satis acre, et orationis non inelegans copia: prætereaque sine arrogantia gravis esse videbatur, et sine segnitie verecundus, &c. Vid. Brut. p. 407. et Plut. in Crass.

† Quomodo Hirrum putas Auguratus tui competitorem—Ep. Fam. 8. 3.

A. Urb. 700. Cic. 54. Coss.—Cn. Domitius Calvinus. M. Valerius Messala.

supreme in sacred, as well as civil affairs ‡. This act was reyersed by Sylla, and the ancient right restored to the colleges; but Labienus, when tribune, in Cicero's consulship, recalled the law of Domitius, to facilitate Cæsar's advancement to the high-priesthood: it was necessary, however, that every candidate should be nominated to the people by two augurs, who gave a solemn testimony upon oath of his dignity and fitness for the office: this was done in Cicero's case by Pompey and Hortensius, the two most eminent members of the college; and after the election, he was installed with all the usual formalities by Hortensius ‖.

As in the last year, so in this, the factions of the city prevented the choice of consuls: the candidates, T. Annius Milo, Q. Metellus Scipio, and P. Plautius Hypsæus, pushed on their several interests with such open violence and bribery, as if the consulship was to be carried only by money or arms *. Clodius was putting in at the same time for the prætorship, and employing all his credit and interest to disappoint Milo, by whose obtaining the consulship, he was sure to be eclipsed, and controuled in the exercise of his sub-

‡ Atque hoc idem de cæteris Sacerdotiis Cn. Domitius tribunus Pl. tulit. &c, De Leg. Ag. 2. 7.

‖ Quo enim tempore me Augurem a toto collegio expetitum Cn. Pompeius et Q. Hortensius nominaverunt; neque enim licebat a pluribus nominari——Philip. 2. 2.

Cooptatum me ab eo in collegium recordabar, in quo juratus judicium dignitatis meæ fecerat: et inauguratum ab eodem, ex quo, augurum institutis in parentis eum loco colere debebam Brut. init——

* Plutar. in Cato.——

A. Urb. 700. Cic. 54. Coss.—Cn. Domitius Calvinus. M. Valerius Messala.

ordinate magistracy †. Pompey was wholly averse to Milo, who did not pay him that court which he expected, but seemed to affect an independency, and to trust to his own strength, while the other two competitors were wholly at his devotion: Hypsæus had been his quæstor, and always his creature; and he designed to make Scipio his father-in-law, by marrying his daughter Cornelia, a lady of celebrated accomplishments, the widow of young Crassus.

Cicero, on the other hand, served Milo to the utmost of his power, and ardently wished his success: this he owed to Milo's constant attachment to him, which at all hazards he now resolved to repay: the affair however was likely to give him much trouble, as well from the difficulty of the opposition, as from Milo's own conduct, and unbounded prodigality, which threatened the ruin of all his fortunes: in a a letter to his brother, who was still with Cæsar, he says, "nothing can be more wretched than these "men and these times: wherefore since no pleasure "can now be had from the republic, I know not why "I should make myself uneasy: books, study, quiet, "my country houses, and above all, my children are "my sole delight: Milo is my only trouble: I wish "his consulship may put an end to it; in which I "will not take less pains, than I did in my own; and "you will assist us there also, as you now do: all "things stand well with him, unless some violence

† Occurrebat ei, mancam ac debilem Præturam suam futuram consule Milone—Pro Milon. 9.

"defeat us: I am afraid only, how his money will "hold out: for he is mad beyond all bounds in the "magnificence of his shews, which he is now prepar-"ing at the expence of 25,000l. but it shall be my "care to check his inconsiderateness in this one arti-"cle, as far as I am able, &c. *."

In the heat of this competition, Curio was coming home from Asia, and expected shortly at Rome; whence Cicero sent an express to meet him on the road, or at his landing in Italy, with a most earnest and pressing letter to engage him to Milo's interest.

A. Urb. 701. Cic. 55.

M. T. CICERO, to C. CURIO.

"BEFORE we had yet heard of your coming to-"wards Italy, I sent away S. Villius, Milo's friend,

* Itaque ex rep. quoniam nihil jam voluptatis capi potest; cur stomacher, nescio. Literæ me et studia nostra, et otium; villæque delectant, maximeque pueri nostri. Angit unus Milo. Sed velim finem afferat consulatus: in quo enitar non minus quam sum enisus in nostro: tuque istinc, quod facis, adjuvabis. De quo cætera (nisi plane vis eripuerit) recte sunt: de re familiari timeo.

Ο δε μαίνεται ὐκ ἔτ' ἀνεκτῶς—

Qui ludos H. S. CCC. comparet. Cujus in hoc uno inconsiderantiam et ego sustinebo, ut potero—Ad Quint. 3. 9.

Cicero had great reason for the apprehensions which he expresses on account of Milo's extravagance; for Milo had already wasted three estates in giving plays and shews to the people; and when he went soon after into exile, was found to owe still above half a million of our money. Plin. l. 36. 15. Ascon. Argum. in Milon.

" with this letter to you: but when your arrival was
" supposed to be near, and it was known for certain
" that you had left Asia, and were upon the road to
" Rome, the importance of the subject left no room
" to fear that we should be thought to send too hasti-
" ly, when we were desirous to have it delivered to
" you as soon as possible. If my services to you, Cu-
" rio, were really so great as they are proclaimed to
" be by you, rather than considered by me, I should
" be more reserved in asking, if I had any great fa-
" vour to beg of you: for it goes hard with a modest
" man, to ask any thing considerable of one whom
" he takes to be obliged to him; lest he be thought
" to demand, rather than to ask; and to look upon
" it as a debt, not as a kindness. But since your ser-
" vices to me, so eminently displayed in my late
" troubles, are known to all to be the greatest; and
" it is the part of an ingenuous mind, to wish to be
" more obliged to those to whom we are already
" much obliged; I made no scruple to beg of you by
" letter, what of all things is the most important and
" necessary to me. For I am not afraid, lest I should
" not be able to sustain the weight of all your favours,
" though ever so numerous; being confident, that
" there is none so great, which my mind is not able,
" both fully to contain, and amply to requite and il-
" lustrate. I have placed all my studies, pains, care,
" industry, thoughts, and in short, my very soul, on
" Milo's consulship; and have resolved with myself
" to expect from it, not only the common fruit of du-
" ty, but the praise even of piety; nor was any man,

" I believe, ever so solicitous, for his own safety and " fortunes, as I am for his honour; on which I have " fixed all my views and hopes. You, I perceive, " can be of such service to him, if you please, that we " shall have no occasion for any thing farther. We " have already with us the good wishes of all the " honest, engaged to him by his tribunate; and, as " you will imagine also, I hope, by his attachment to " me: of the populace and the multitude, by the " magnificence of his shews and the generosity of " his nature; of the youth and men of interest, by " his own peculiar credit or diligence among that " sort: he has all my assistance likewise, which " though of little weight, yet being allowed by all " to be just and due to him, may perhaps be of " some influence. What we want, is a captain and " leader, or a pilot, as it were, of all those winds; and " were we to chuse one out of the whole city, we " could not find a man so fit for the purpose as you. " Wherefore, if from all the pains, which I am now " taking for Milo you can believe me to be mindful " of benefits; if grateful; if a good man; if worthy " in short of your kindness; I beg of you to relieve " my present solicitude, and lend your helping hand " to my praise; or, to speak more truly, to my safety. " As to T. Annius himself, I promise you, if you em- " brace him, that you will not find a man of greater " mind, gravity, constancy, or of greater affection to " you: and as for myself, you will add such a lustre " and fresh dignity to me, that I shall readily own " you to have shewn the same zeal for my honour,

A. Urb. 701. Cic. 55.

"which you exerted before for my preservation. If "I was not sure, from what I have already said, that "you would see how much I take my duty to be in- "terested in this affair, and how much it concerns me, "not only to struggle, but even to fight for Milo's "success, I should press you still farther; but I now "recommend and throw the whole cause, and myself "also with it, into your hands; and beg of you, to "assure yourself of this one thing; that if I obtain "this favour from you, I shall be more indebted al- "most to you, than even to Milo himself; since my "safety, in which I was principally assisted by him, "was not so dear, as the piety of shewing my grati- "tude will be agreeable to me; which I am persuad- "ed I shall be able to effect by your assistance. A- "dieu †."

THE Senate and the better sort were generally in Milo's interest: but three of the tribunes were violent against him, Q. Pompeius Rufus, Munatius Plancus Bursa, and Sallust the historian; the other seven were his fast friends, but above all M. Cælius, who, out of regard to Cicero, served him with a particular zeal. But while all things were proceeding very prosperously in his favour, and nothing seemed wanting to crown his success, but to bring on the election, which his adversaries, for that reason, were labouring to keep back; all his hopes and fortunes were blasted at once by an unhappy rencounter with his old enemy Clodius, in

† Ep. Fam. 2. 6.

A. Urb. 701. Cic. 55.

which Clodius was killed by his servants and by his command.

Their meeting was wholly accidental, on the Appian road, not far from the city; Clodius coming home from the country towards Rome; Milo going out about three in the afternoon; the first on horseback, with three companions, and thirty servants well armed; the latter in a chariot, with his wife and one friend, but with a much greater retinue, and among them some gladiators.—The servants on both sides began presently to insult each other; when Clodius, turning briskly to some of Milo's men, who were nearest to him, and threatening them with his usual fierceness, received a wound in his shoulder from one of the gladiators; and, after receiving several more in the general fray, which instantly ensued, finding his life in danger, was forced to fly for shelter into a neighbouring tavern. Milo, heated by this success, and the thoughts of revenge, and reflecting that he had already done enough, to give his enemy a great advantage against him, if he was left alive to pursue it, resolved, whatever was the consequence, to have the pleasure of destroying him, and so ordered the house to be stormed, and Clodius to be dragged out and murdered: the master of the tavern was likewise killed, with eleven of Clodius's servants, while the rest saved themselves by flight: so that Clodius's body was left in the road, where it lay, till S. Tedius, a senator, happening to come by, took it up into his chaise, and brought it with him to Rome; where it was exposed in that condition, all covered with blood and wounds, to the view of the populace,

who flocked about it in crowds to lament the miserable fate of their leader. The next day, the mob, headed by S. Clodius, a kinsman of the deceased, and one of his chief incendiaries, carried the body naked, so as all the wounds might be seen, into the forum, and placed it in the rostra; where the three tribunes, Milo's enemies, were prepared to harangue upon it in a stile suited to the lamentable occasion; by which they inflamed their mercenaries to such a heighth of fury, that, snatching up the body, they ran away with it into the senate-house, and tearing up the benches, tables, and every thing combustible, dressed up a funeral pile upon the spot, and, together with the body, burnt the house itself, with a basilica also, or public hall adjoining, called the Porcian; and, in the same fit of madness, proceeded to storm the house of Milo, and of M. Lepidus, the interrex, but were repulsed in both attacks, with some loss *.

These extravagancies raised great indignation in the city; and gave a turn in favour of Milo; who, looking upon himself as undone, was meditating nothing before, but a voluntary exile: but now taking courage, he ventured to appear in public, and was introduced into the rostra by Cælius; where he made his defence

* Quanquam re vera, fuerat pugna fortuita. Quintil. l. 6. c. 5.
Ἐλπίσας ῥᾶον τοῦ φόνου τελευτήσαντος αὐτοῦ ἢ τοῦ τραύματος εἰ περιγίγνοιτο ἀφεθήσεσθαι. Dio. l. 40. p. 143.

Milo, ut cognovit vulneratum Clodium, cum sibi periculosius illud etiam, vivo eo, futurum intelligeret, occiso autem magnum solatium esset habiturus, etiam si subeunda pœna esset, exturbari tabernam jussit.—Ita Clodius latens extractus est, multisque vulneribus confectus, &c. Vid. Asconii Argum. in Milon.

A. Urb. 701. Cic. 55.

to the people; and to mitigate their resentment distributed through all the tribes above three pounds a man, to every poor citizen. But all his pains and expence were to little purpose; for the three tribunes employed all the arts of party and faction to keep up the ill humour of the populace; and what was more fatal, Pompey would not be brought into any measures of accommodating the matter; so that the tumults still encreasing, the senate passed a decree, "that the interrex, assisted by the tribunes and Pompey, should "take care, that the republic receive no detriment; "and that Pompey, in particular, should raise a body "of troops for the common security;" which he presently drew together from all parts of Italy. In this confusion, the rumour of a Dictator was again industriously revived, and gave a fresh alarm to the senate; who, to avoid the greater evil, resolved presently to create Pompey the single consul! so that the interrex, Servius Sulpicius, declared his election accordingly, after an interregnum of near two months *.

A. Urb. 702. Cic. 56. Cn. Pompeius Magnus III. Sine Collega.

Pompey applied himself immediately to calm the public disorders, and published several new laws, prepared by him for that purpose: one of them was to appoint a special commission, to enquire into Clodius's death, the burning of the senate-house, and the attack

* Vid. Dio. ibid. et Ascon. Argum.

A. Urb. 701. Cic. 55. Cos.---Cn. Pompeius Magnus III. Sine Collega.

on M. Lepidus; and to appoint an extraordinary judge, of consular rank, to preside in it: a second was, against bribery and corruption in elections, with the infliction of new and severer penalties. By these laws, the method of trials was altered, and the length of them limited: three days were allowed for the examination of witnesses, and the fourth for the sentence; on which the accuser was to have two hours only to enforce the charge; the criminal three, for his defence †: which regulation Tacitus seems to consider as the first step towards the ruin of the Roman eloquence; by imposing reins, as it were, upon it's free and ancient course ‡. Cælius opposed his negative to these laws, as being rather privileges, than laws, and provided particularly against Milo: but he was soon obliged to withdraw it, upon Pompey's declaring, that he would support them by force of arms. The three tribunes, all the while, were perpetually haranguing, and terrifying the city with forged stories, of magazines of arms prepared by Milo, for massacring his enemies, and burning the city; and produced their creatures in the rostra, to vouch the truth of them to the people: they charged him particularly, with a design against Pompey's life; and brought one Licinius, a killer of the victims for sacrifice, to declare that Milo's servants had confessed it to him in their cups, and then endeavoured to kill him, lest he should discover it; and

† Dio et Ascon. Argum.

‡ Primus tertio consulatu Cn. Pompeius astrinxit, imposuitque veluti frænos eloquentiæ—&c. Dialog. de Orator. 38.

A. Urb. 701. Cic. 55. Cos.—Cn. Pompeius Magnus III. Sine Collega.

to make his story the more credible, shewed a slight wound in his side, made by himself, which he affirmed to have been given by the stroke of a gladiator. Pompey himself confirmed this fact, and laid an account of it before the senate; and, by doubling his guard, affected to intimate a real apprehension of danger *. Nor were they less industrious to raise a clamour against Cicero; and, in order to deter him from pleading Milo's cause, threatened him also with trials and prosecutions, giving it out every where, that Clodius was killed indeed by the hand of Milo, but by the advice and contrivance of a greater man †. Yet such was his constancy to his friends, says Asconius, that neither the loss of popular favour, nor Pompey's suspicions, nor his own danger, nor the terror of arms, could divert him from the resolution of undertaking Milo's defence ‡.

But it was Pompey's influence and authority which ruined Milo §. He was the only man in Rome, who had the power either to bring him to a trial, or to get

* Audiendus Popa Licinius, nescio quis de Circo maximo, servos Milonis apud se ebrios factos confessos esse, de interficiendo Cn. Pompeio conjurasse. De amicorum sententia rem defert ad senatum. Pro Milon. 24.

† Scitis, judices, fuisse, qui in hac rogatione suadenda dicerent, Milonis manu cædem esse factam, consilio vero majoris alicujus: videlicet me latronem et sicarium abjecti homines describebant.—Ib. 18.

‡ Tanta tamen constantia ac fides fuit Ciceronis, ut non populi a se alienatione, non Cn. Pompeii suspicionibus, non periculi futuri metu, non armis, quæ palam in Milonem sumpta erant, deterreri potuerit a defensione ejus. Argum. Milon.

§ Milonem reum non magis invidia facti, quam Pompeii damnavit voluntas. Vell. p. 2. 47.

A. Urb. 701. Cic. 55. Cos.—Cn. Pompeius Magnus III. Sine Collega.

him condemned: not that he was concerned for Clodius's death, or the manner of it, but pleased rather, that the republic was freed, at any rate, from so pestilent a demagogue; yet he resolved to take the benefit of the occasion for getting rid of Milo too, from whose ambition and high spirit he had cause to apprehend no less trouble. He would not listen, therefore, to any overtures which were made to him by Milo's friends: and when Milo offered to drop his suit for the consulship, if that would satisfy him, he answered, "that he would not concern himself with any man's "suing or desisting, nor give any obstruction to the "power and inclination of the Roman people." He attended the trial in person, with a strong guard to preserve peace, and to prevent any violence from either side: there were many clear and positive proofs produced against Milo, though some of them were supposed to be forged: among the rest, the Vestal virgins deposed, that a woman unknown came to them in Milo's name, to discharge a vow, said to be made by him, on the account of Clodius's death *.

When the examination was over, Munatius Plancus called the people together, and exhorted them to appear in a full body the next day, when judgment was to be given, and to declare their sentiments in so public a manner, that the criminal might not be suffered to escape: which Cicero reflects upon in the defence, as an insult on the liberty of the bench †. Early in

* Vid. Asconii argum. in Milon.

† Ut intelligatis contra hesternam illam concionem licere vobis, quod sentiatis, libere judicare. Pro Mil. 26. Vid. Ascon. ib.

A. Urb. 701. Cic. 55. Cos.—Cn. Pompeius Magnus III. Sine Collega.

the morning, on the eleventh of April, the shops were all shut, and the whole city gathered into the Forum, where the avenues were possessed by Pompey's soldiers, and he himself seated in a conspicuous part, to overlook the whole proceeding, and hinder all disturbance. The accusers were, young Appius, the nephew of Clodius, M. Antonius, and P. Valerius, who, according to the new law, employed two hours in supporting their indictment. Cicero was the only advocate on Milo's side; but as soon as he rose up to speak, he was received with so rude a clamour by the Clodians, that he was much discomposed and daunted at his first setting out; yet recovered spirit enough to go through his speech of three hours; which was taken down in writing as it was delivered; though the copy of it now extant is supposed to have been re-touched and corrected by him afterwards, for a present to Milo in his exile *.

In the council of Milo's friends, several were of opinion, that he should defend himself, by avowing the death of Clodius to be an act of public benefit; but Cicero thought that defence too desperate, as it would disgust the grave, by opening so great a door to licence, and offend the powerful, lest the precedent should be extended to themselves. But young Brutus was not so cautious, who, in an oration which he composed and published afterwards, in vindication of

* Cicero, cum inciperet dicere, acceptus est acclamatione Clodianorum, itaque non ea, qua solitus erat, constantia dixit. Manet autem illa quoque exceptu ejus oratio. Ascon. Argum.

A. Urb. 701. Cic. 55. Cos.—Cn. Pompeius Magnus III. Sine Collega.

Milo, maintained the killing of Clodius to be right and just, and of great service to the republic †. It was notorious, that on both sides they had often threatened death to each other: Clodius especially had declared several times, both to the senate and the people, that Milo ought to be killed; and that, if the consulship could not be taken from him, his life could: and when Favonius asked him once, what hopes he could have of playing his mad pranks, while Milo was living; he replied, that in three or four days at most, he should live no more: which was spoken just three days before the fatal rencounter, and attested by Favonius *. Since Milo then was charged with being the contriver of their meeting, and the aggressor in it, and several testimonies were produced to that purpose, Cicero chose to risk the cause on that issue; in hopes to persuade, what seemed to be the most probable, that Clodius actually lay in wait for Milo, and contrived the time and place; and that Milo's part was but a necessary act of self-defence. This appeared plausible, from the nature of their equipage, and the circumstances in which they met: for though Milo's

† Cum quibusdam placuisset, ita defendi crimen, interfici Clodium pro repub. fuisse, quam formam M. Brutus secutus est in ea oratione, quam pro Milone composuit, et edidit, quamvis non egisset, Ciceroni id non placuit. Ibid.

* Etenim palam dictitabat, consulatum Miloni eripi non posse, vitam posse. Significavit hoc sæpe in senatu; dixit in concione. Quinetiam Favonio, quærenti ex eo, qua spe fureret, Milone vivo? Respondit, triduo illum, ad summum quatriduo periturum. Pro Mil. 9.

Post diem tertium gesta res est, quam dixerat. Ib. 16.

A. Urb. 701. Cic. 55. Cos.—Cn. Pompeius Magnus III. Sine Colleg.

company was the more numerous, yet it was much more encumbered, and unfit for an engagement, than his adversaries; he himself being in a chariot with his wife, and all her women along with him; while Clodius with his followers was on horseback; as if prepared and equipped for fighting ‡. He did not preclude himself however by this from the other plea, which he often takes occasion to insinuate, that if Milo had really designed and contrived to kill Clodius, he would have deserved honours instead of punishment, for cutting off so desperate and dangerous an enemy to the peace and liberty of Rome *.

In this speech for Milo, after he had shewn the folly of paying such a regard to the idle rumours and forgeries of his enemies, as to give them the credit of an examination, he touches Pompey's conduct and pretended fears, with a fine and masterly raillery; and, from a kind of prophetic foresight of what might one

‡ Interim cum sciret Clodius—Iter solenne—necessarium—Miloni esse Lanuvium—Roma ipse profectus pridie est, ut aute suum fundum, quod re intellectum est, insidias Miloni collocaret—Milo autem cum in senatu fuisset eo dio, quoad senatus dimissus est, domum venit, calceos et vestimenta mutavit: paullisper, dum se uxor, ut fit, comparat, commoratus est—obviam fit ei Clodius expeditus in equo, nulla rheda, nullis impedimentis, nullis Græcis comitibus, sine uxore, quod nunquam fere; cum hic insidiator,—(Milo)—cum uxore in rheda veheretur penulatus, magno impedimento, ac muliebri et delicato ancillarum et puerorum comitatu—Pro Mil. 10. it. 21.

* Quamobrem si cruentum gladium tenens clamaret T. Annius, adeste, quæso, atque audite cives: P. Clodium interfeci: ejus furores, quos nullis jam legibus, nullis judiciis frænare poteramus, hoc ferro, atque hac dextra a cervicibus vestris repuli, &c. Vos tanti sceleris ultorem non modo honoribus nullis afficietis, sed etiam ad supplicium rapi patiemini? Pro Mil. 28 &c.

A. Urb. 701. Cic. 55. Cos.—Cn. Pompeius Magnus III. Sine Collega.

day happen, addresses himself to him in a very pathetic manner.——" I could not but applaud, says he, " the wonderful diligence of Pompey in these enquiries: but, to tell you freely, what I think; those " who are charged with the care of the whole republic, " are forced to hear many things, which they would " contemn, if they were at liberty to do it. He could " not refuse an audience to that paultry fellow, Licinius, who gave the information about Milo's servants——I was sent for among the first of " those friends by whose advice he laid it before the " senate, and was, I own, in no small consternation, " to see the guardian both of me and my country under so great an apprehension; yet I could not help " wondering that such credit was given to a butcher, " such regard to drunken slaves, and how the wound " in the man's side, which seemed to be the prick only of a needle, could be taken for the stroke of a " gladiator. But Pompey was shewing his caution, " rather than his fear, and disposed to be suspicious of " every thing, that you might have reason to fear nothing. There was a rumour also, that Cæsar's house " was attacked for several hours in the night: the " neighbours, though in so public a place, heard nothing at all of it; yet the affair was thought fit to " be enquired into. I can never suspect a man of " Pompey's eminent courage of being timorous; nor " yet think any caution too great in one who has taken upon himself the defence of the whole republic. A senator likewise, in a full house, affirmed " lately in the Capitol, that Milo had a dagger under

A. Urb. 701. Cic. 55. Cos.—Cn. Pompeius Magnus III. Sine Collega.

" his gown at that very time: Milo stript himself pre-
" sently in that most sacred temple, that, since his life
" and manners would not give him credit, the thing it-
" self might speak for him, which was found to be false,
" and basely forged. But if, after all, Milo must still
" be feared, it is no longer the affairs of Clodius, but
" your suspicions, Pompey, which we dread: your
" suspicions, I say, and speak it so, that you may hear
" me.—If those suspicions stick so close that they are
" never to be removed, if Italy must never be free
" from new levies, nor the city from arms, without
" Milo's destruction, he would not scruple, such is his
" nature and his principles, to bid adieu to his coun-
" try, and submit to a voluntary exile: but at taking
" leave, he would call upon thee, O thou Great One!
" as he now does, to consider how uncertain and va-
" riable the condition of life is; how unsettled and in-
" constant a thing fortune; what unfaithfulness there
" is in friends; what dissimulation suited to times and
" circumstances; what desertion, what cowardice in
" our dangers, even of those who are dearest to us:
" there will, there will, I say, be a time, and the day
" will certainly come, when you, with safety still, I
" hope, to your fortunes, though changed perhaps by
" some turn of the common times, which, as experi-
" ence shews, will often happen to us all, may want
" the affection of the friendliest, the fidelity of the
" worthiest, the courage of the bravest man living,"
&c. *

* Pro Mil. 24, 25, 26—

A. Urb. 701. Cic. 55. Cos.—Cn. Pompeius Magnus III. Sine Collega.

Of one and fifty judges who sat upon Milo, thirteen only acquitted, and thirty-eight condemned him: the votes were usually given by ballot; but Cato, who absolved him, chose to give his vote openly; and "if "he had done it earlier," says Velleius, "would have "drawn others after him, since all were convinced "that he who was killed was, of all who had ever liv-"ed, the most pernicious enemy to his country, and "to all good men †." Milo went into exile at Marseilles a few days after his condemnation: his debts were so great that he was glad to retire the sooner from the importunity of his creditors, for whose satisfaction his whole estate was sold by public auction. Here Cicero still continued his care for him, and in concert with Milo's friends, ordered one of his wife's freed men, Philotimus, to assist at the sale, and to purchase the greatest part of the effects, in order to dispose of them afterwards to the best advantage, for the benefit of Milo and his wife Fausta, if any thing could be saved for them. But his intended service was not so well relished by Milo, as he expected; for Philotimus was suspected of playing the knave, and secreting part of the effects to his own use, which gave Cicero great uneasiness, so that he pressed Atticus and Cælius to enquire into the matter very narrowly, and oblige Philotimus "to give satisfaction to Milo's "friends, and to see especially that his own reputa-

† M. Cato palam lata absolvit sententia, quam si maturius tulisset, non defuissent qui sequerentur exemplum, probarentque eum civem occisum, quo nemo perniciosior reip. neque bonis inimicior vixerat.——Vell. p. 2. 47.

A. Urb. 701. Cic. 55. Cos.—Cn. Pompeius Magnus III. Sine Collega.

" tion did not suffer by the management of his ser-
" vant †." Through this whole struggle about Milo, Pompey treated Cicero with great humanity: he assigned him a " guard at the trial, forgave all his la-
" bours for his friend, though in opposition to himself;
" and, so far from resenting what he did, would not
" suffer other peoples resentments to hurt him ‡."

The next trial before the same tribunal, and for the same crime, was of M. Saufeius, one of Milo's confidents, charged with being the ringleader, in storming the house, and killing Clodius: he was defended also by Cicero, and acquitted only by one vote; but being accused a second time on the same account, though for a different fact, and again defended by Cicero, he was acquitted by a great majority. But Sex. Clodius, the captain of the other side, had not the luck to escape so well, but was condemned and banished, with several others of that faction, to the great

† Concilium meum hoc fuerat, primum ut in potestate nostra res esset, ne illum malus emptor et alienus mancipiis, quæ permulta secum habet, spoliaret: deinde ut Faustæ, cui cautum ille voluisset, ratum esset. Erat etiam illud, ut ipsi nos, si quid servari posset, quam facillime servaremus. Nunc rem totam perspicias velim—Si ille queritur——Si idem Fausta vult, Philotimus, ut ego ei coram dixeram, mihique ille receperat, ne sit invito Milone in bonis——Ad Att. 5. 8. it. 6. 4.

Quod ad Philotimi liberti officium et bona Milonis attinet, dedimus operam ut et Philotimus quam honestissime Miloni absenti, ejusque necessariis satisfaceret, et secundum ejus fidem et sedulitatem existimatio tua conservaretur.—— Ep. Fam. 8. 3.

‡ Qua humanitate tulit contentionem meam pro Milone, adversante interdum actionibus suis? Quo studio providit, ne quæ me illius temporis invidia attingeret? Cum me consilio, tum auctoritate, cum armis denique texit suis—Ib. 3. 10.

A. Urb. 701. Cic. 55 Cos.—Cn. Pompeius Magnus III. Sine Collega.

joy of the city, for burning the senate-house, and the other violences committed upon Clodius's death *.

A. Urb. 701. Cic. 55. Cos.—Cn. Pomp. Magnus III. Q. Cæcil. Metel. Scipio.

POMPEY, no sooner published his new law against bribery, than the late consular candidates, Scipio and Hypsæus were severally impeached upon it; and being both of them notoriously guilty, were in great danger of being condemned: but Pompey, calling the body of the judges together, begged it of them as a favour, that, out of the great number of state criminals, they would remit Scipio to him: whom, after he had rescued from this prosecution, he declared his colleague in the consulship, for the last five months of the year; having first made him his father-in-law by marrying his daughter Cornelia. The other candidate, Hypsæus, was left to the mercy of the law; and being likely to fare the worse for Scipio's escape, and to be made a sacrifice to the popular odium, he watched an opportunity of access to Pompey, as he was coming out of his bath, and throwing himself at his feet, implored his protection: but though he had been his quæstor, and ever obsequious to his will, yet Pompey is said to have thrust him away with great haughtiness and inhumanity, telling him coldly, that he would only spoil his supper by detaining him †.

* Ascon. Argum. pro Milon.—

† Cn. autem Pompeius quam insolenter? Qui balneo egressus, ante pedes suos prostratum Hypsæum ambitus reum et nobilem virum

A. Urb. 700. Cic. 55. Coss—Cn. Pomp. Magnus III. Q. Cæcil. Metel. Scipio.

Before the end of the year, Cicero had some amends for the loss of his friend Milo, by the condemnation and banishment of two of the tribunes, the common enemies of them both, Q. Pompeius Rufus, and T. Munatius Planeus Bursa, for the violences of their tribunate, and burning the senate-house. As soon as their office expired, Cælius accused the first; and Cicero himself the second; the only cause, excepting that of Verres, in which he ever acted the part of an *accuser*. But Bursa had deserved it, both for his public behaviour in his office, and his personal injuries to Cicero; who had defended and preserved him in a former trial. He depended on Pompey's saving him; and had no apprehension of danger, since Pompey undertook to plead his cause, before judges of his own appointing; yet, by Cicero's vigour in managing the prosecution, he was condemned by an unanimous vote of the whole bench †. Cicero was highly pleased with this success, as he signifies in a letter to his friend Marius, which will explain the motives of his conduct in it.

"I know very well," says he, "that you rejoice at "Bursa's fate, but you congratulate me too coldly: "you imagine, you tell me, that for the sordidness of the

rum et sibi amicum, jacentem reliquit, contumeliosa voce proculcatum. Nihil enim eum aliud agere, quam ut convivium suum moraretur, respondit—Ille vero P. Scipionem, socerum suum, legibus noxium, quas ipse tulerat, in maxima quidem reorum et illustrium ruina, muneris loco a judicibus deposcere.—Val. Max. 9. 5. it. Plutar. in. Pomp.

† Plancum, qui omnibus sententiis maximo vestro plausu condemnatus.——Philip 6. 4.

A. Urb. 701. Cic. 55. Coss.—Cn. Pomp. Magnus III. Q. Cæcil. Metel. Scipio.

" man, I take the less pleasure in it: but believe me, " I have more joy from this sentence, than from the " death of my enemy: for, in the first place, I love to " pursue, rather by a trial, than the sword; rather with " the glory, than the ruin of a friend; and it pleased " me extremely, to see so great an inclination of all " honest men on my side, against the incredible pains " of one, the most eminent and powerful: and lastly, " what you will scarce think possible, I hated this fel- " low worse than Clodius himself: for I had attacked " the one, but defended the other: and Clodius, when " the safety of the republic was risked upon my head, " had something great in view, not indeed from his " own strength, but the help of those, who could not " maintain their ground, whilst I stood firm: but this " silly ape, out of a gaiety of heart, chose me particu- " larly for the object of his invectives; and persuaded " those, who envied me, that he would be always at " their service, to insult me at any warning. Where- " fore I charge you to rejoice in good earnest; for it " is a great victory, which we have won. No citizens " were ever stouter than those who condemned him, " against so great a power of one, by whom themselves " were chosen judges: which they would never have " done, if they had not made my cause and grief their " own. We are so distracted here by a multitude of " trials and new laws, that our daily prayer is against " all intercalations, that we may see you as soon as " possible ‡.

‡ Ep. Fam. 7. 2.

A. Urb. 701. Cic. 55. Coss.—Cn. Pomp. Magnus III. Q. Cæcil. Metel. Scipio.

Soon after the death of Clodius, Cicero seems to have written *his treatise on laws* ‖; after the example of Plato, whom of all writers he most loved to imitate: for as Plato, after he had written on government in general, drew up a body of laws, adapted to that particular form of it, which he had been delineating; so Cicero chose to deliver his political sentiments in the same method *; not by translating Plato, but imitating his manner in the explication of them. This work being designed then, as a supplement, or second volume, to his other upon *the republic*, was distributed probably, as that other was, into six books: for we meet with some quotations among the ancients, from the fourth and fifth; though there are but three now remaining, and those in some places imperfect. In the first of these, he lays open "the origin of law and "the source of obligation; which he derives from the "universal nature of things, or, as he explains it, from "the consummate reason or will of the supreme God †:" in the other two books, he gives a body of laws conformable to his own plan and idea of a well ordered

‖ Vid. de Legib. 2. 17.

* Sed ut vir doctissimus fecit Plato, atque idem gravissimus philosophorum omnium, qui princeps de Repub. conscripsit, idemque separatim de legibus ejus, id mihi credo esse faciundum——De Legib. 2. 6.

† Hanc igitur video sapientissimorum fuisse sententiam, legem neque hominum ingeniis excogitatam, nec scitum aliquod esse populorum, sed æternum quiddam, quod universum mundum regeret, imperandi prohibendique sapientia. Ita principem legem illam et ultimam mentem esse dicebant, omnia ratione aut cogentis aut vetantis Dei.—Quamobrem lex vera atque princeps——ratio est recta summi Jovis. Ib. 2. 4.

A. Urb. 701. Cic. 55. Coss.—Cn. Pomp. Magnus III. Q. Cæcil. Metel. Scipio.

city ‡: first, those which relate "to religion and the "worship of the gods;" secondly, those which prescribe "the duties and powers of the several magis- "trates," from which the peculiar form of each government is denominated. These laws are generally taken "from the old constitution or custom of Rome ||;" with some little variation and temperament, contrived to obviate the disorders to which that republic was liable, and to give it a stronger turn towards the aristocratical side *: in the other books which are lost, he had treated, as he tells us, "of the particular rights "and privileges of the Roman people †."

Pompey was preparing an inscription this summer for the front of the new temple, which he had lately built to Venus the Conqueress, containing, as usual, the recital of all his titles; but, in drawing it up, a question happened to be started, about the manner of expressing his third consulship; whether it should be by *consul tertium* or *tertio*. This was referred to the principal critics of Rome, who could not, it seems, agree about it; some of them contending for the one, some for the other; so that Pompey left it to Cicero to decide the matter, and to inscribe what he thought the best. But Cicero, being unwilling to give judg-

‡ Nos autem quoniam—quæ de optima Repub. sentiremus, in sex libris ante diximus, accommodabimus hoc tempore leges ad illum, quem probamus, civitatis statum.—Ib. 3. 2.

|| Et si quæ forte a me hodie rogabuntur, quæ non sint in nostra Repub. nec fuerint, tamen erunt fere in more majorum, qui tum, ut lex, valebat. Ib. 2. 10.

* Nihil habui; sane non multum, quod putarem novandum in legibus. Ib. 3. 5.

† Ib. 3. 28.

A. Urb. 701. Cic. 55. Coss.—Cn. Pomp. Magnus III. Q. Cæcil. Metel. Scipio.

cero, whose business it had been through life to avoid them *.

The city began now to feel the unhappy effects, both of Julia's and Crassus's death, from the mutual apprehensions and jealousies which discovered themselves more and more every day between Pompey and Cæsar; the senate was generally in Pompey's interest; and, trusting to the name and authority of so great a leader, were determined to humble the pride and ambition of Cæsar, by recalling him from his government; whilst Cæsar, on the other hand, trusting to the strength of his troops, resolved to keep possession of it in defiance of all their votes; and, by drawing a part of his forces into the Italic or Cisalpine Gaul, so as to be ready at any warning to support his pretensions, began to alarm all Italy with the melancholy prospect of an approaching civil war: and this was the situation of affairs, when Cicero set forward towards his government of Cilicia.

* Cum et contra voluntatem meam et præter opinionem accidisset, ut mihi cum imperio in provinciam proficisci necesse esset. Ep. Fam. 3. 2.

SECTION VII.

A. Urb. 702. Cic. 56. Cos.—Serv. Sulpicius Rufus. M. Claudius Marcellus.

THIS year opens to us a new scene in Cicero's life, and presents him in a character which he had never before sustained, of the *governor of a province*, and *general of an army*. These preferments were, of all others, the most ardently desired by the great, for the advantages which they afforded, both of acquiring power and amassing wealth: for their command, tho' accountable to the Roman people, was absolute and uncontroulable in the province; where they kept up the state and pride of sovereign princes, and had all the neighbouring kings paying a court to them, and attending their orders. If their genius was turned to arms, and fond of martial glory, they could never want a pretext for war, since it was easy to drive the subjects into rebellion, or the adjoining nations to acts of hostility, by their oppressions and injuries, till, from the destruction of a number of innocent people, they had acquired the title of *emperor*, and with it the pretension to a triumph; without which, scarce any proconsul was ever known to return from a remote and frontier province *. Their opportunities of raising

* While the ancient discipline of the republic subsisted, no general could pretend to a triumph, who had not enlarged the bounds of the empire by his conquests, and killed at least five thousand enemies in battle, without any considerable loss of his own soldiers. This was expressly enacted by an old law: in support of which

A. Urb. 702. Cic. 56. Coss.—Serv. Sulpicius Rufus. M. Claudius Marcellus.

money were as immense as their power, and bounded only by their own appetites: the appointments from the treasury, for their equipage, plate, and necessary furniture, to near a hundred and fifty thousand pounds*: and, besides the revenues of kingdoms and pay of armies, of which they had the arbitrary management, they could exact what contributions they pleased, not only from the cities of their own jurisdiction, but from all the states and princes around them, who were under the protection of Rome. But while their primary care was to enrich themselves, they carried out with them always a band of hungry friends and dependents, as their lieutenants, tribunes, præfects, with a crew of freed-men and favourite slaves, who were all likewise to be enriched by the spoils of the province, and the sale of their master's favours. Hence flowed all those accusations and trials for the plunder of the subjects, of which we read so much in the Roman writers: for, as few or none of the proconsuls behaved themselves with that exact justice, as to leave no room for complaint, so the factions of the city, and the quarrels of

a second was afterwards provided, that made it penal for any of their triumphant commanders to give a false account of the number of slain, either on the enemy's side, or their own; and obliged them, upon their entrance into the city, to take an oath before the quæstors or public treasurers, that the accounts which they had sent to the senate of each number, were true. [Val. Max. 2. 8.] But these laws had long been neglected and treated as obsolete; and the honour of a triumph usually granted, by intrigue and faction, to every general of any credit, who had gained some little advantage against pirates or fugitives, or repelled the incursions of the wild barbarians, who bordered upon the distant provinces.

* Nonne HS. centies et octagies—quasi vasarii nomine—ex ærario tibi attributum, Romæ in quæstu reliquisti? In Pison. 35.

A. Urb. 702. Cic. 56. Coss.—Serv. Sulpicius Rufus. M. Claudius Marcellus.

families, subsisting from former impeachments, generally excited some or other to revenge the affront in kind, by undertaking the cause of an injured province, and dressing up an impeachment against their enemy.

But whatever benefit or glory this government seemed to offer, it had no charms for Cicero: the thing itself was disagreeable to his temper *, nor worthy of those talents which were formed to sit at the helm, and shine in the administration of the whole republic: so that he considered it only as an honourable exile, or a burthen imposed by his country, to which his duty obliged him to submit. His first care therefore was to provide, that his command might not be prolonged to him beyond the usual term of a year; which was frequently done, when the necessities of the province, the character of the man, the intrigues of parties, or the hurry of other business at home, left the senate neither leisure nor inclination to think of changing the governor: and this was the more likely to happen at present, through the scarcity of magistrates, who were now left capable by the late law of succeeding him. Before his departure, therefore, he solicited all his friends, not to suffer such a mortification to fall upon him; and, after he was gone, scarce wrote a single letter to Rome, without urging the same request in the most pressing terms: in his first to Atticus, within

* Totum negotium non est dignum viribus nostris, qui majora onera in rep. sustinere et possim et soleam. Ep. fam. 2. xi.

O rem minime aptam meis moribus, &c. Ad Att. 5. 10.

Sed est incredibile, quam me negotii tœdeat, non habet satis magnum campum ille tibi non ignotus cursus animi mei. Ib. 15.

A. Urb. 702. Cic. 56. Cos.—Serv. Sulpicius Rufus. M. Claudius Marcellus.

three days from their parting: "Do not imagine," says he, "that I have any other consolation in this great "trouble, than the hopes that it will not be continu- "ed beyond the year: many, who judge of me by o- "thers, do not take me to be in earnest; but you, "who know me, will use all your diligence, especial- "ly when the affair is to come on *."

He left the city about the first of May, attended by his brother and their two sons: for Quintus had quitted his commission under Cæsar, in order to accompany him into Cilicia, in the same capacity of his lieutenant. Atticus had desired him, before he left Italy, to admonish his brother, to shew more complaisance and affection to his wife Pomponia, who had been complaining to him of her husband's peevishness and churlish carriage; and, lest Cicero should forget it, he put him in mind again by a letter to him on the road, that, since all the family were to be together in the country, on this occasion of his going abroad, he would persuade Quintus to leave his wife at least in good humour at their parting: in relation to which, Cicero sends him the following account of what passed.

"When I arrived at Arpinum, and my brother was "come to me, our first and chief discourse was on you; "which gave me an opportunity of falling upon the "affair of your sister, which you and I had talked o- "ver together at Tusculum: I never saw any thing

* Noli putare mihi aliam consolationem esse hujus ingentis molestiæ, nisi quod spero non longiorem anno fore. Hoc me ita velle multi non credunt ex consuetudine aliorum. Tu, qui scis, omnem diligentiam adhibebis; tum sciiicit, cum id agi debebit. Ib. 2.

A. Urb. 702. Cic. 56. Coss.—Serv. Sulpicius Rufus. M. Claudius Marcellus.

" so mild and moderate as my brother was, without " giving the least hint of his ever having had any real " cause of offence from her. The next morning we " left Arpinum; and that day being a festival, Quin- " tus was obliged to spend it at Arcanum, where I din- " ed with him, but went on afterwards to Aquinum: " You know this villa of his: as soon as we came thi- " ther, Quintus said to his wife, in the civilest terms, " ' Do you, Pomponia, invite the women, and I will " ' send to the men:'—(nothing, as far as I saw, could " be said more obligingly, either in his words or man- " ner)—to which she replied, so as we all might hear " it, ' I am but a stranger here myself:' referring, I " guess, to my brother's having sent Statius before us " to order the dinner: upon which,—' See,' says my " brother to me, ' what I am forced to bear every " ' day.' This, you will say, was no great matter. " Yes, truly, great enough to give me much concern; " to see her reply so absurdly and fiercely, both in her " words and looks: but I dissembled my uneasiness. " When we sat down to dinner, she would not sit " down with us: and when Quintus sent her several " things from the table, she sent them all back: in " short, nothing could be milder than my brother, or " ruder than your sister: yet I omit many particulars, " which gave more trouble to me than to Quintus him- " self. I went away to Aquinum; he staid at Area- " num: but when he came to me early the next morn- " ing, he told me, that she refused to lye with him " that night; and, at their parting, continued in the " same humour in which I had seen her. In a word,

A. Urb. 702. Cic. 56. Coss.—Serv. Sulpicius Rufus. M. Claudius Marcellus.

" you may let her know from me, that, in my opinion, " the fault was all on her side that day. I have been " longer, perhaps, than was necessary, in my narrative, " to let you see that there is occasion also on your " part for advice and admonition *."

One cannot help observing from this little incident, what is confirmed by innumerable instances in the Roman story, that the freedom of a divorce, which was indulged without restraint at Rome, to the caprice of either party, gave no advantage of comfort to the matrimonial state; but, on the contrary, seems to have encouraged rather a mutual perverseness and obstinacy; since, upon any little disgust, or obstruction given to their follies, the expedient of a change was ready always to flatter them with the hopes of better success in another trial: for there never was an age or country, where there was so profligate a contempt and violation of the nuptial bond, or so much lewdness and infidelity in the great of both sexes, as at this time in Rome.

Cicero spent a few days as he passed forward, at his Cuman villa, near Baiæ, where there was such a resort of company to him, that he had, he says, a kind of a little Rome about him: Hortensius came among the rest, though much out of health, to pay his compliments, and wish him a good voyage, and, at taking leave, when he asked, what commands he had for him in his absence, Cicero begged of him only to use all his authority, to hinder his government from being

* Ad Att. 5. 1.

A. Urb. 702. Cic. 56. Coss. Serv. Sulpicius Rufus. M. Claudius Marcellus.

prolonged to him *. In sixteen days from Rome he arrived at Tarentum, where he had promised to make a visit to Pompey, who was taking the benefit of that soft air, for the recovery of his health, at one of his villas in those parts; and had invited and pressed Cicero to spend some days with him upon his journey: they proposed great satisfaction on both sides from this interview, for the opportunity of conferring together with all freedom, on the present state of the republic, which was to be their subject: though Cicero expected also to get some lessons of the military kind, from this renowned commander. He promised Atticus an account of this conference; but the particulars being too delicate to be communicated by letters, he acquainted him only in general, that he found Pompey an excellent citizen, and provided for all events which could possibly be apprehended †.

After three days stay with Pompey, he proceeded to Brundisium; where he was detained for twelve

* In Cumano cum essem, venit ad me, quod mihi pergratum fuit, noster Hortensius: cui, deposcenti mea mandata, cætera universe mandavi; illud proprie, ne pateretur, quantum esset in ipso, prorogari nobis provinciam.—habuimus in Cumano quasi pusillam Romam: tanta erat in his locis multitudo.—ib. 2.

† Nos Tarenti, quos cum Pompeio διαλόγους de republ. habuerimus ad te perscribemus.—ib. 5.

Tarentum veni a. d. xv Kal. Jun. quod Pontinium statueram expectare, commodissimum duxi dies eos—cum Pompeio consumere: eoque magis, quod ei gratum esse id videbam, qui etiam a me petierat, ut secum et apud se essem quotidie: quod concessi libenter multos enim ejus præclaros de repub. sermones accipiam: instruar etiam consiliis idoneis ad hoc nostrum negotium.—ib. 6.

Ego, cum triduum cum Pompeio et apud Pompeium fuissem, proficiscebar Brundisium.—Civem illum egregium relinquebam, et ad hæc, quæ timentur, propulsanda paratissimum.—ib. 7.

A. Urb. 702. Cic. 56. Cos.—Serv. Sulpicius Rufus. M. Claudius Marcellus.

days by a slight indisposition, and the expectation of his principal officers, particularly of his lieutenant Pontinius, an experienced leader, the same who had triumphed over the Allobroges; and on whose skill he chiefly depended in his martial affairs. From Brundisium, he sailed to Actium, on the fifteenth of June; whence, partly by sea, and partly by land, he arrived at Athens on the twenty-sixth *. Here he lodged in the house of Aristus, the principal professor of the Academy; and his brother not far from him, with Xeno, another celebrated philosopher of Epicurus's school: they spent their time here very agreeably; at home, in philosophical disquisitions; abroad, in viewing the buildings and antiquities of the place, with which Cicero was much delighted: there were several other men of learning, both Greeks and Romans, of the party; especially Gallus Canimius and Patro, an eminent Epicurean, and intimate friend of Atticus †.

There lived at this time in exile at Athens, C. Memmius, banished upon a conviction of bribery, in his suit for the consulship; who, the day before Cicero's arrival, happened to go away to Mitylene. The figure which he had born in Rome, gave him authority in Athens; and the council of Areopagus had

* Ad Att. 5. 8, 9.

† Valde me Athenæ delectarunt: urbs duntaxat, et urbis ornamentum, et hominum amores in te, et in nos quædam benevolentia; sed multum et philosophia—si quid est, est in Aristo apud quem eram, nam Xenonem tuum—Quinto concesseram—ad Att. 5. 1. Ep. fam. 2. 8. 13. 1.

A. Urb. 703. Cic. 56. Cos.—Serv. Sulpicius Rufus. M. Claudius Marcellus.

granted him a piece of ground to build upon, where Epicurus formerly lived, and where there still remained the old ruins of his walls. But this grant had given great offence to the whole body of the Epicureans, to see the remains of their master in danger of being destroyed. They had written to Cicero at Rome, to beg him to intercede with Memmius, to consent to a revocation of it; and now at Athens, Xeno and Patro renewed their instances, and prevailed with him to write about it, in the most effectual manner; for though Memmius had laid aside his design of building, the Areopagites would not recal their decree without his leave *. Cicero's letter is drawn with much art and accuracy: he laughs at the trifling zeal of these philosophers, for the old rubbish and paultry ruins of their founder, yet earnestly presses Memmius, to indulge them in a prejudice, contracted through weakness, not wickedness; and though he professes an utter dislike of their philosophy, yet he recommends them, as honest, agreeable, friendly men, for whom he entertained the highest esteem †. From this letter one may observe, that the greatest difference in philosophy, made no difference of friendship among the great of these times. There was not a more declared enemy to Epicurus's doctrine than Cicero: he thought

* Visum est Xenoni, et post, ipsi Patroni, me ad Memmium scribere, qui pridie quam ego Athenas veni, Mitylenas profectus erat,—non enim dubitabat Xeno, quin ab Areopagitis invito Memmio impetrari non posset. Memmius autem ædificandi consilium abjecisset, sed erat Patroni iratus, itaque scripsi ad eum accurate—Ad Att. 5. 11.

† Ep. fam. 13. 1.

A. Urb. 702. Cic. 56. Coss.—Serv. Sulpicius Rufus. M. Claudius Marcellus.

it destructive of morality, and pernicious to society; but he charged this consequence to the principles, not the professors of them; with many of whom he held the strictest intimacy; and found them to be worthy, virtuous, generous friends, and lovers of their country: there is a jocose letter to Trebatius, when he was with Cæsar in Gaul, upon his turning Epicurean, which will help to confirm this reflection.

CICERO to TREBATIUS.

"I was wondering, why you had given over writing "to me; till Pansa informed me that you were turn- "ed Epicurean. O rare camp! what would you have "done if I had sent you to Tarentum, instead of Sa- "merobriva? I began to think the worse of you, ever "since you made my friend Seius your pattern. But "with what face will you now pretend to practise the "law, when you are to do every thing for your own "interest, and not for your client's? and what will "become of that old form, and test of fidelity; as true "men ought to act truly, with one another? what law "would you allege for the distribution of common "right, when nothing can be common with those "who measure all things by their pleasure? with what "face can you swear by Jupiter; when Jupiter, you "know, can never be angry with any man? and what "will become of your people of Ulubræ; since you do "not allow a wise man to meddle with politics? "wherefore, if you are really gone off from us, I am "sorry for it; but if it be convenient to pay this com-

A. Urb. 702. Cic. 56. Cos—Serv. Sulpicius Rufus. M. Claudius Marcellus.

"pliment to Pansa, I forgive you; on condition, how-
"ever, that you write me word what you are doing,
"and what you would have me do for you here ‡."
The change of principles in Trebatius, though equivalent in effect to a change of religion with us, made no alteration in Cicero's affection for him. This was the dictate of reason to the best and wisest of the heathens; and may serve to expose the rashness of those zealots, who, with the light of a most divine and benevolent religion, are perpetually insulting and persecuting their fellow Christians, for differences of opinion, which, for the most part, are merely speculative, and without any influence on life, or the good and happiness of civil society.

After ten days spent at Athens, where Pontinius at last joined him, Cicero set sail towards Asia. Upon leaving Italy, he had charged his friend Cælius with the task of sending him the news of Rome; which Cælius performed very punctually, in a series of letters, which make a valuable part in the collection of his familiar epistles: they are polite and entertaining; full of wit and spirit; yet not flowing with that easy turn, and elegance of expression, which we always find in Cicero's. The first of them, with Cicero's answer, will give us a specimen of the rest.

M. CÆLIUS to M. CICERO.

"ACCORDING to my promise at parting, to send you
"an account of all the news of the town, I have pro-

‡ Ep. fam. 7. 12.

" vided one to collect it for you so punctually, that I
" am afraid lest you should think my diligence at last
" too minute: but I know how curious you are; and
" how agreeable it is to all, who are abroad, to be in-
" formed of every thing that passes at home, though
" ever so trifling. I beg of you, however, not to con-
" demn me of arrogance, for deputing another to this
" task: since, as busy as I now am, and as lazy as you
" know me to be in writing, it would be the greatest
" pleasure to me, to be employed in any thing that
" revives the remembrance of you: but the pacquet
" itself, which I have sent, will, I imagine, readily ex-
" cuse me: for what leisure would it require, not only
" to transcribe, but to attend even to the contents of
" it? there are all the decrees of the senate, edicts,
" plays, rumours: if the sample does not please you,
" pray let me know it, that I may not give you trou-
" ble, at my cost. If any thing important happens in
" the republic, above the reach of these hackney wri-
" ters, I will send you an account of it myself; in what
" manner it was transacted; what speculations are rai-
" sed upon it; what effects apprehended: at present,
" there is no great expectation of any thing: as to
" those rumours, which were so warm at Cumæ, of as-
" sembling the colonies beyond the Po, when I came
" to Rome, I heard not a syllable about them. Mar-
" cellus, too, because he has not yet made any motion
" for a successor to the two Gauls, but puts it off, as he
" told me himself, to the first of June, has revived the
" same talk concerning him, which was stirring when
" we were at Rome together. If you saw Pompey,

A. Urb. 702. Cic. 56. Cos.—Serv. Sulpicius Rufus. M. Claudius Marcellus.

" as you designed to do, pray send me word, in what " temper you found him; what conversation he had " with you; what inclination he shewed: for he is apt " to think one thing, and say another, yet has not wit " enough to conceal what he really means. As for " Cæsar, there are many ugly reports about him; but " propagated only in whispers: some say, that he has " lost all his horse; which I take indeed to be true: " others, that the seventh legion has been beaten; and " that he himself is besieged by the Bellovaci; and " cut off from the rest of his army. There is nothing " yet certain; nor are these uncertain stories publicly " talked of; but among the few, whom you know, " told openly, by way of secrets: Domitius never " mentions them, without clapping his hand to his " mouth. On the twenty-first of May, the mob un- " der the rostra sent about a report, (may it fall on " their own heads) which was warmly propagated " through the forum and the whole city, that you " were killed upon the road by Q. Pompeius: but I, " who knew him to be then at Bauli, and in such a " starving condition that I could not help pitying " him, being forced to turn pilot for his bread, was not " concerned about it; and wished only, that if any " real dangers threatened you, we might be quit for " this lie: your friend Plancus Bursa is at Ravenna; " where he has had a large donative from Cæsar; but " is not yet easy, nor well provided. Your books on " government are applauded by all people *.

* Epist. Fam. 8. 1.

A. Urb. 702. Cic. 56. Coss.—Serv. Sulpicius Rufus. M. Claudius Marcellus.

M. T. CICERO, Proconsul, to M. CÆLIUS.

"How! was it this, think you, that I charged you "with; to send me the matches of gladiators; the "adjournments of causes; and Chrestus's news-let- "ter; and what nobody dares mention to me when "at Rome? See, how much I ascribe to you in my "judgment: nor indeed without reason, for I have "never yet met with a better head for politics; I "would not have you write what passes every day in "public, though ever so important, unless it happen "to affect myself: others will write it; many bring "accounts of it; and fame itself convey a great part "to me: I expect from you, neither the past, nor the "present; but as from one, who sees a great way be- "fore him, the future only; that when I have before "me in your letters the plan of the republic, I may "be able to judge what a sort of edifice it will be. "Nor have I hitherto indeed any cause to complain "of you: for nothing has yet happened, which you "could foresee better than any of us; especially my- "self, who spent several days with Pompey, in con- "versing on nothing else but the republic; which it "is neither possible nor proper for me to explain by "letter: take this only from me: that Pompey is an "excellent citizen, prepared, both with courage and "counsel, for all events which can be foreseen: where- "fore, give yourself up to the man; believe me, he "will embrace you; for he now holds the same opi- "nion with us, of good and bad citizens. After I had

A. Urb. 702. Cic. 56. Cos.—Serv. Sulpicius Rufus. M. Claudius Marcellus

"been ten days at Athens where our friend Gallus "Caninius was much with me, I left it on the sixth "of July, when I sent away this letter: as I earnest-"ly recommend all my affairs to you, so nothing "more particularly, than that the time of my provin-"cial command be not prolonged: this is every thing "to me; which, when, and how, and by whom it is "to be managed, you will be the best able to con-"trive. Adieu *."

He landed at Ephesus on the twenty-second of July, after a slow but safe passage of fifteen days; the tediousness of which was agreeably relieved by touching on the way at several islands of the Ægean sea, of which he sends a kind of journal to Atticus †. Many deputations from the cities of Asia, and a great concourse of people came to meet him as far as Samos; but a much greater still was expecting his landing at Ephesus: the Greeks flocked eagerly from all parts, to see a man so celebrated through the empire, for the fame of his learning and eloquence; so that all his boastings, as he merrily says, of many years past, were now brought to the test ‡. After reposing himself for three days at Ephesus, he marched forward towards his province; and on the last of July, arrived

* Ep. fam. 2. 8.

† Ephesum venimus a. d. xi. Kal. Sext.—ad Att. 5. 13. vid. it. ib. 12.

‡ De concursu legationum, privatorum, et de incredibili multitudine, quæ mihi jam Sami, sed mirabilem in modum Ephesi præsto fuit, aut te audisse puto——ex quo te intelligere certo scio multorum annorum ostentationes meas nunc in discrimen esse adductas—ib. 13.

A. Urb. 702. Cic. 56. Coss.—Serv. Sulpicius Rufus. M. Claudius Marcellus.

at Laodicea, one of the capital cities of his jurisdiction. From this moment the date of his government commenced; which he bids Atticus take notice of, that he might know how to compute the precise extent of his annual term *.

It was Cicero's resolution, in this provincial command, to practise those admirable rules which he had drawn up formerly for his brother; and from an employment wholly tedious and disagreeable to him to derive fresh glory upon his character, by leaving the innocence and integrity of his administration, as a pattern of governing to all succeeding proconsuls. It had always been the custom, when any governors went abroad to their provinces, that the countries, through which they passed, should defray all the charges of their journey: but Cicero no sooner set his foot on foreign ground, than he forbade all expence whatsoever, public or private, to be made either upon himself, or any of his company; which raised a great admiration of him in all the cities of Greece †. In Asia, he did the same; not suffering his officers to

* Laodiceam veni prid. Kal. Sextiles. Ex hoc die clavum anni movebis. Ib. 15.

† Ego—quotidie meditor, præcipio meis; faciam denique ut summa modestia et summa abstinentia munus hoc extraordinarium traducamus.—ib. 9.

Adhuc sumptus nec in me aut publice aut privatim, nec in quemquam comitum. Nihil accipitur lege Julia, nihil ab hospite, persuasum est omnibus meis serviendum esse famæ meæ. Belle adhuc. Hoc animadversum Græcorum laude et multo sermone celebratur. Ib. 10.

Nos adhuc iter per Græciam summa cum admiratione fecimus. Ib. 11.

A. Urb. 702. Cic. 56. Cos.—Serv. Sulpicius Rufus. M. Claudius Marcellus.

accept what was due to them even by law; forage and wood for firing, nor any thing else, but mere house-room, with four beds; which he remitted also, as oft as it was practicable, and obliged them to lodge in their tents; and by his example and constant exhortations brought his lieutenants, tribunes, and præfects, so fully into his measures, that they all concurred with him, he says, wonderfully, in a jealous concern for his honour *.

Being desirous to put himself at the head of his army, before the season of action was over, he spent but little time in visiting the cities of his jurisdiction, reserving the winter months for settling the civil affairs of the province †. He went therefore to the camp, at Iconium in Lycaonia, about the twenty-fourth of August; where he had no sooner reviewed the troops, than he received an account from Antiochus, king of Comagene, which was confirmed from the other princes of those parts, that the Parthians had passed the Euphrates with a mighty force, in order to invade the Roman territory under the conduct of Pacorus the king's son. Upon this news, he marched towards Ci-

* Levantur miseræ civitates, quod nullus sit sumptus in nos, neque in quemquam. Scito, non modo nos fœnum, aut quod lege Julia dari solet non accipere, sed ne ligna quidem, nec præter quatuor lectos, et tectum, quemquam accipere quidquam: multis locis ne tectum quidem, et in tabernaculo manere plerumque—ad Att. 5. 16.

Ut nullus teruncius insumatur in quemquam; id sit etiam et legatorum et tribunorum et præfectorum diligentia. Nam omnes mirifice συμφιλοδοξοῦσι gloriæ meæ—ib. 17.

† Erat mihi in animo recta proficisci ad exercitum, æstivos menses reliquos rei militari dare, hibernos jurisdictioni—ib. 14.

A. Urb. 702. Cic. 56. Cos.—Serv. Sulpicius Rufus. M. Claudius Marcellus.

licia, to secure his province from the inroads of the enemy, or any commotions within: but as all access to it was difficult, except on the side of Cappadocia, an open country, and not well provided; he took his route through that kingdom, and encamped in that part of it which bordered upon Cilicia, near to the town of Cybistra, at the foot of mount Taurus. His army, as it is said above, consisted of about twelve thousand foot, and two thousand six hundred horse, besides the auxiliary troops of the neighbouring states, and especially of Deiotarus, king of Galatia, the most faithful ally of Rome, and Cicero's particular friend; whose whole forces he could depend upon at any warning *.

While he lay in his camp, he had an opportunity of executing a special commission with which he was charged by the senate; to take Ariobarzanes, king of Cappadocia, under his particular protection; and provide for the security of his person and government: in honour of whom the senate had decreed, what they had never done before to any foreign prince, that his safety was of great concern to the senate and people

* In castra veni a. d. vii. Kal. Sept. ad d. iii. exercitum lustravit. Ex his castris cum graves de Parthis nuncii venirent, perrexi in Ciliciam, per Cappadociæ partem eam, quæ Ciliciam attingit—

Regis Antiochi Comageni legati primi mihi nunciarunt Parthorum magnas copias Euphratem transire cœpisse.——Cum exercitum in Ciliciam ducerem—mihi literæ redditæ sunt a Tarcondimoto, qui fidelissimus socius trans Taurum Populi Rom. existimatur. Pacorum Orodi Regis Parthorum filium, cum permagno equitatu transisse Euphratem, &c. Ep. fam. 15. 1.

Eodem die ab Jamblicho, Phylarcho Arabum—litteræ de eisdem rebus, &c.

A. Urb. 702. Cic. 56. Cos.—Serv. Sulpicius Rufus. M. Claudius Marcellus.

of Rome. His father had been killed by the treachery of his subjects, and a conspiracy of the same kind was apprehended against the son: Cicero, therefore, in a council of his officers, gave the king an account of the decree of the senate, and that, in consequence of it, he was then ready to assist him with his troops and authority in any measures that should be concerted for the safety and quiet of his kingdom.—The king, after great professions of his thanks and duty to the senate for the honour of their decree, and to Cicero himself for his care in the execution of it, said, that he knew no occasion for giving him any particular trouble at that time; nor had any suspicion of any design against his life or crown: Upon which Cicero, after congratulating him upon the tranquillity of his affairs, advised him, however, to remember his father's fate, and, from the admonition of the senate, to be particularly vigilant in the care of his person; and so they parted. But the next morning the king returned early to the camp, attended by his brother and counsellors, and with many tears implored the protection of Cicero, and the benefit of the senate's decree; declaring, "that he had received undoubted intelligence of "a plot, which those, who were privy to it, durst not "venture to discover till Cicero's arrival in the coun-"try, but, trusting to his authority, had now given full "information of it; and that his brother, who was pre-"sent, and ready to confirm what he said, had been "sollicited to enter into it by the offer of the crown: "he begged, therefore, that some of Cicero's troops

A. Urb. 702. Cic. 56. Cos—Serv. Sulpicius Rufus. M. Claudius Marcellus.

"might be left with him for his better guard and de-
"fence. Cicero told him, that, under the present a-
"larm of the Parthian war, he could not possibly lend
"him any part of his army; that since the conspira-
"cy was detected, his own forces would be sufficient
"for preventing the effects of it; that he should learn
"to act the king, by shewing a proper concern for
"his own life, and exert his regal power in punishing
"the authors of the plot, and pardoning all the rest;
"that he need not apprehend any farther danger,
"when his people were acquainted with the senate's
"decree, and saw a Roman army so near to them, and
"ready to put it in execution:" and, having thus en-couraged and comforted the king, he marched to-wards Cilicia, and gave an account of this accident, and of the motions of the Parthians, in two public letters to the consuls and the senate: he added a pri-vate letter to Cato, who was a particular favourer and patron of Ariobarzanes, in which he informed him, "that he had not only secured the king's person from
"any attempt, but had taken care that he should
"reign for the future with honour and dignity, by
"restoring to his favour and service his old counsel-
"lors, whom Cato had recommended, and who had
"been disgraced, by the intrigues of his court; and
"by obliging a turbulent young priest of Bellona, who
"was the head of the malecontents, and the next in
"power to the king himself, to quit the country *."

* Ep. fam. 15. 2, 3, 4.

A. Urb. 702. Cic. 56. Coss.—Serv. Sulpicius Rufus. M. Claudius Marcellus.

This king, Ariobarzanes, seems to have been poor even to a proverb;

Mancipiis locuples, eget æris Cappadocum rex.
Hor. Ep. l. 6.

for he had been miserably squeezed and drained by the Roman generals and governors; to whom he owed vast sums, either actually borrowed, or stipulated to be paid for particular services. It was a common practice with the great of Rome, to lend money at an exorbitant interest, to the princes and cities dependent on the empire, which was thought an useful piece of policy to both sides; to the princes, for the opportunity of engaging to their interests the most powerful men of the republic, by a kind of honourable pension; to the Romans, for the convenience of placing their money where it was surest to bring the greatest return of profit. The ordinary interest of these provincial loans was, one per cent. by the month, with interest upon interest: this was the lowest; but, in extraordinary or hazardous cases, it was frequently four times as much. Pompey received monthly from this very king above six thousand pounds Sterling, which yet was short of his full interest. Brutus also had lent him a very large sum, and earnestly desired Cicero to procure the payment of it, with the arrears of interest: but Pompey's agents were so pressing, and the king so needy, that though Cicero solicited Brutus's affair very heartily, he had little hopes of getting any thing for him: when Ariobarzanes came, there-

A. Urb. 702. Cic. 56. Coss.—Serv. Sulpicius Rufus. M. Claudius Marcellus.

fore, to offer him the same present of money, which he had usually made to every other governor, he generously refused it, and desired only, that, instead of giving it to him, it might be paid to Brutus; but the poor prince was so distressed, that he excused himself, by the necessity which he was under of satisfying some other more pressing demands; so that Cicero gives a sad account of his negotiation, in a long letter to Atticus, who had warmly recommended Brutus's interests to him.

"I come now, says he, to Brutus; whom by your "authority I embraced with inclination, and began e- "ven to love: but——what am I going to say? I "recall myself, lest I offend you——do not think, "that I ever entered into any thing more willingly, "or took more pains, than in what he recommended "to me. He gave me a memorial of the particulars, "which you had talked over with me before: I pur- "sued your instructions exactly: in the first place, I "pressed Ariobarzanes, to give that money to Brutus "which he promised to me: as long as the king con- "tinued with me, all things looked well, but he was "afterwards teized by six hundred of Pompey's agents; "and Pompey, for other reasons, can do more with "him than all the world besides; but especially, "when it is imagined that he is to be sent to the Par- "thian war: they now pay Pompey thirty-three Attic "talents per month, out of the taxes, though this falls "short of a month's interest: but our friend Cnæus "takes it calmly; and is content to abate something "of the interest, without pressing for the principal,

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"As for others, he neither does, nor can pay any man: "for he has no treasury, no revenues: he raises taxes "by Appius's method of capitation: but these are "scarce sufficient for Pompey's monthly pay: two "or three of the king's friends are very rich; but "they hold their own as closely as either you or I "—I do not forbear however to ask, urge, and chide "him by letters: king Deiotarus also told me, that "he had sent people to him on purpose to solicit for "Brutus; but they brought him word back, that he "had really no money: which I take indeed to be "the case; that nothing is more drained than his "kingdom; nothing poorer than the king *." But Brutus had recommended another affair of the same nature to Cicero, which gave him much more trouble. The city of Salamis in Cyprus owed to two of his friends, as he pretended, Scaptius and Matinius, above twenty thousand pounds Sterling upon bond, at a most extravagant interest; and he begged of Cicero to take their persons and concerns under his special protection. Appius, who was Brutus's father-in-law, had granted every thing which was asked to Scaptius; a præfecture in Cyprus, with some troops of horse, with which he miserably harassed the poor Salaminians, in order to force them to comply with his unreasonable demands; for he shut up their whole senate in the council-room, till five of them were starved to death with hunger †. Bru-

* Ad Att. 6. 1.

† Fuerat enim præfectus Appio, et quidem habuerat turmas equitum, quibus inclusum in curia senatum Salamine obsederat, ut fame senatores quinque morerentur.—ibid.

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tus laboured to place him in the same degree of favour with Cicero: but Cicero, being informed of this violence at Ephesus, by a deputation from Salamis, made it the first act of his government to recal the troops from Cyprus, and put an end to Scaptius's præfecture, having laid it down for a rule, to grant no command to any man, who was concerned in trade, or negotiating money in the province: to give satisfaction however to Brutus, he injoined the Salaminians to pay off Scaptius's bond, which they were ready to do according to the tenor of his edict, by which he had ordered, that no bonds in his province should carry above one per cent. by the month. Scaptius refused to take the money on those terms, insisting on four per cent., as the condition of his bond expressed; which by computation almost doubled the principal sum; while the Salaminians, as they protested to Cicero, could not have paid the original debt, if they had not been enabled to do it by his help, and out of his own dues that he had remitted to them; which amounted to somewhat more than Scaptius's legal demand *.

This extortion raised Cicero's indignation; and notwithstanding the repeated instances of Brutus and Atticus, he was determined to over-rule it; though

* Itaque ego, quo die tetigi provinciam, cum mihi Cyprii legati Ephesum obviam venissent, literas misi, ut equites ex insula statim decederent---ad Att. 6. 1. confeceram, ut solverent centesimis ---at Scaptius quaternas postulabat---ib. homines non modo non recusare, sed etiam dicere, se a me solvere. Quod enim prætori dare consuescent, quoniam ego non acceperam, se a me quodam modo dare; atque etiam minus esse aliquanto in Scaptii nomine, quam in vectigali prætorio---ib. 5. 21.

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Brutus, in order to move him the more effectually, thought proper to confess, what he had all along dissembled, that the debt was really his own, and Scaptius only his agent in it †. This surprised Cicero still more, and though he had a warm inclination to oblige Brutus, yet he could not consent to so flagrant an injustice, but makes frequent and heavy complaints of it in his letters to Atticus—"You have now, (says he, "in one of them,) the ground of my conduct; if Brutus "does not approve it, I see no reason why we should "love him; but I am sure, it will be approved by his "uncle, Cato ‡." In another: If Brutus thinks that I "ought to allow him four per cent. when by edict I "have decreed but one through all the province, and "that to the satisfaction of the honest usurers; if he "complains that I denied a præfecture to one con-"cerned in trade, which I denied, for that reason, and "to your friend Lenius, and to Sex. Statius, though "Torquatus solicited for the one, and Pompey him-"self for the other, yet without disgusting either of "them; if he takes it ill that I recalled the troops of "horse out of Cyprus, I shall be sorry, indeed, that "he has any occasion to be angry with me; but "much more, not to find him the man that I took "him to be——I would have you to know, how-"ever, that I have not forgot what you intimat-

† Atque hoc tempore ipso impingit mihi epistolam Scaptius Bruti, rem illam suo periculo esse: quod nec mihi unquam Brutus dixerat nec tibi——ib. nunquam ex illo audivi illam pecuniam esse suam—ib.

‡ Habes meam causam: quæ si Bruto non probatur, nescio cur illum amemus; sed avunculo ejus certe probabitur.—ib. 5. 21.

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" ed to me in several of your letters, that if I brought " back nothing else from the province, but Brutus's " friendship, that would be enough: let it be so, since " you will have it so; yet it must always be with this " exception; as far as it can be done, without my " committing any wrong—*." In a third: " How, " my dear Atticus! you who applaud my integrity " and good conduct, and are vexed sometimes, you " say, that you are not with me; how can such a " thing, as Ennius says, come out of your mouth, to " desire me to grant troops to Scaptius, for the sake of " extorting money? could you, if you were with me, " suffer me to do it, if I would?——if I really had " done such a thing, with what face could I ever read " again, or touch those books of mine, with which you " are so much pleased †?" He tells him likewise, in confidence, that all Brutus's letters to him, even when he was asking favours, " were unmannerly, churlish,

* Si Brutus putabat me quaternas centesimas oportuisse decernere, qui in tota provincia singulas observarem, itaque edixissem idque etiam acerbissimis fœneratoribus probaretur; si præfecturam negotiatori denegatam queretur, quod ego Torquato nostro in tuo Lenio, Pompeio ipsi in S. Statio negavi, & iis probavi; si equites deductos moleste feret; accipiam equidem dolorem, mihi illum irasci, sed multo majorem, non esse eum talem, qualem putassem—Sed plane te intelligere volui, mihi non excidisse illud quod tu ad me quibusdam literis scripsisses, si nihil aliud de hac Provincia nisi illius benevolentiam deportassem, mihi id satis esse. Sit sane, quoniam ita tu vis sed tamen cum eo credo, quod sine peccato meo fiat—ibid.

† Ain' tandem Attice, laudator integritatis et elegantiæ nostræ? ausus es hoc ex ore tuo, inquit Ennius, ut equites Scaptio ad pecuniam cogendam darem, me rogare? an tu, si mecum esses, qui scribis morderi te interdum quod non simul sis, paterere me id facere, si vellem?—— et ego audebo legere unquam, aut attingere, eos libros quos tu dilaudas? si tale quid fecero—ad Att. 6. 2.

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" and arrogant; without regarding either what or to " whom he was writing; and if he continued in that " humour; you may love him alone," says he, " if " you please, you shall have no rival of me; but he " will come, I believe, to a better mind †." But to shew, after all, what a real inclination he had to oblige him, he never left urging king Ariobarzanes, till he had squeezed from him a hundred talents, in part of Brutus's debt, or about twenty thousand pounds; the same sum, probably, which had been destined to Cicero himself ‡.

While he lay encamped in Cappadocia, expecting what way the Parthians would move, he received an account, that they had taken a different route, and were advanced to Antioch in Syria, where they held C. Cassius blocked up; and that a detachment of them had actually penetrated into Cilicia, but were routed and cut off by those troops which were left to guard the country. Upon this he presently decamped, and by great journies over mount Taurus, marched in all haste to possess himself of the passes of Amanus; a great and strong mountain, lying between Syria and

† Ad me etiam, cum rogat aliquid, contumaciter, arroganter, ἀκοσμοτάτως solet scribere——ib. 6. 1.

Omnino (soli enim sumus) nullus unquam ad me literas misit Brutus—in quibus non esset arrogans, ἀκοσμοτάτου aliquid—in quo tamen ille mihi risum magis quam stomachum movere solet. Sed plane parum cogitat, quid scribat, aut ad quem—ib. 6. 3.

‡ Bruti tui causa, ut sæpe ad te scripsi, feci omnia—Ariobarzanes non in Pompeium prolixior per ipsum, quam per me in Brutum——pro ratione pecuniæ liberius est Brutus tractatus, quam Pompeius. Bruto curata hoc anno talenta circiter c. Pompeio in sex mensibus promissa cc.——ibid.——

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Cilicia, and the common boundary of them both. By this march, and the approach of his army to the neighbourhood of Syria, the Parthians being discouraged, retired from Antioch; which gave Cassius an opportunity of falling upon them in their retreat, and gaining a considerable advantage, in which one of their principal commanders, Osaces, was mortally wounded *.

In the suspence of the Parthian war, which the late disgrace of Crassus had made terrible at Rome, Cicero's friends, who had no great opinion of his military talents, were in some pain for his safety and success: but now that he found himself engaged, and pushed to the necessity of acting the general, he seems to have wanted neither the courage nor conduct of an experienced leader. In a letter to Atticus, dated from his camp; "We are in great spirits," says he, "and as our coun-"cils are good, have no distrust of an engagement: "we are securely encamped, with plenty of provisions, "and in sight almost of Cilicia; with a small army in-"deed, but, as I have reason to believe, entirely well "affected to me; which I shall double by the acces-"sion of Deiotarus, who is upon the road to join me: "I have the allies more firmly attached to me than "any governor ever had: they are wonderfully taken

* Itaque confestim iter in Ciliciam feci per Tauri pylas. Tarsum veni a. d. iii. Non. Oct. inde ad Amanum contendi, qui Syriam a Cilicia in aquarum divortio dividit—rumore adventus nostri, et Cassio, qui Antiochia tenebatur, animus accessit, et Parthis timor injectus est. Itaque eos cedentes ab oppido Cassius insecutus rem bene gessit. Qua in fuga magna auctoritate Osaces, dux Parthorum, vulnus accepit, eoque interiit paucis post diebus. Ad Att. 15. 20.

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" with my easiness and abstinence: we are making " new levies of citizens, and establishing magazines: " if there be occasion for fighting, we shall not decline " it; if not, shall defend ourselves by the strength of " our posts: wherefore be of good heart, for I see as " much as if you were with me, the sympathy of your " love for me †."

But the danger of the Parthians being over for this season, Cicero resolved that his labour should not be lost, and his army dismissed, without attempting something of moment. The inhabitants of the mountains, close to which he now lay, were a fierce, untamed race of banditti or freebooters, who had never submitted to the Roman power, but lived in perpetual defiance of it, trusting to their forts and castles, which were supposed to be impregnable from the strength of their situation. He thought it therefore of no small importance to the empire, to reduce them to a state of subjection; and, in order to conceal his design, and take them unprovided, he drew off his forces on pretence of marching to the distant parts of Cilicia; but after a day's journey stopt short, and having refreshed his army, and left his baggage behind, turned back again in the night with the utmost celerity, and reached Amanus before day on the thirteenth of October. He divided his troops among his four lieutenants, and himself accompanied by his brother, led up one part of them, and so coming upon the natives by surprize, they easily killed or made them all prisoners: they

† Ad Att. 5. 18.

A. Urb. 702. Cic. 56. Coss.—Serv. Sulpicius Rufus. M. Claudius Marcellus.

took six strong forts, and burned many more; but the capital of the mountain, Erana, made a brave resistance, and held out from break of day, to four in the afternoon. Upon this success, *Cicero was saluted Emperor*, and sat down again at the foot of the hills, where he spent five days, in demolishing the other strong holds, and wasting the lands of these mountaineers. In this place his troops were lodged in the same camp which Alexander the Great had formerly used, when he beat Darius at Issus; and where there remained three altars, as the monument of his victory, which bore his name to that day: a circumstance, which furnished matter for some pleasantry, in his letters to his friends at Rome ‡.

From Amanus, he led his army to another part of the highlands, the most disaffected to the Roman name,

‡ Qui mons erat hostium plenus sempiternorum. Hic. a. d. III. idus Octob. magnum numerum hostium occidimus. Castella munitissima, nocturno Pontinii adventu, nostro matutino cepimus, incendimus. Imperatores appellati sumus. Castra paucos dies habuimus, ea ipsa, quæ contra Darium habuerat apud Issum Alexander, Imperator haud paulo melior, quam aut tu aut ego. Ibi dies quinque morati, direpto et vastato Amano, inde discessimus.—Ad Att. 5. 20.

Expedito exercitu ita noctu iter feci, ut ad III. Id. Octob. cum lucisceret, in Amanum ascenderem, distributisque cohortibus et auxiliis, cum aliis Quintus frater legatus, mecum simul, aliis C. Pontinius Legatus, reliquis M. Annius, et M. Tullius legati præessent: plerosque nec opinantes oppressimus—Eranam autem, quæ fuit non vici instar, sed urbi, quod erat Amani caput—acriter et diu repugnantibus, Pontinio illam partem Amani tenente, ex antelucano tempore usque ad horam diei decimam, magna multitudine hostium occisa, cepimus, castellaque sex capta: complura incendimus. His rebus ita gestis, castra in radicibus Amani habuimus apud aras Alexandri quatriduum: et in reliquiis Amani delendis, agrisque vastandis—id tempus omne consumsimus—Ep. fam. 15. 4. vid. ibid. 2. 10.

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possessed by a stout and free people, who had never been subject even to the king of that country. Their chief town was called Pindenissum, situated on a steep and craggy hill, strongly fortified by nature and art, and provided with every thing necessary for defence: it was the constant refuge of all deserters, and the harbour of foreign enemies, and at that very time was expecting and prepared to receive the Parthians: Cicero, resolving therefore to chastise their insolence, and bring them under the Roman yoke, laid siege to it in form; and though he pushed it on with all imaginable vigour, and a continual battery of his engines, yet it cost him above six weeks to reduce it to the necessity of surrendering at discretion. The inhabitants were sold for slaves, and when Cicero was writing the account from his tribunal, he had already raised about a hundred thousand pounds by that sale: all the other plunder, excepting the horses, was given to the soldiers. In his letter upon it to Atticus, "the Pin-"denissians," says he, "surrendered to me on the Sa-"turnalia, after a siege of seven-and-forty days: but "what the plague, you will say, are these Pindenis-"sians? I never heard of their name before.—How "can I help that? could I turn Cilicia into Ætolia or "Macedonia? take this however for certain, that no "man could do more than I have done, with such an "army *," &c. After this action, another neigh-

* Confectis his rebus ad oppidum Eleutherocilicum, Pindenissum, exercitum adduxi: quod cum esset altissimo et munitissimo loco, ab iisque incoleretur, qui ne regibus quidem unquam paruissent:

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bouring nation, of the same spirit and fierceness, called Tibutani, terrified by the fate of Pindenissum, voluntarily submitted, and gave hostages; so that Cicero sent his army into winter quarters under the command of his brother, into those parts of the province which were thought the most turbulent †.

While he was engaged in this expedition, Papirius Pætus, an eminent wit and Epicurean, with whom he had a particular intimacy and correspondence of facetious letters, sent him some military instructions in the way of raillery; to which Cicero answered in the same jocose manner: "Your letter," says he, "has made "me a great commander: I was wholly ignorant be- "fore of your great skill in the art of war; but per- "ceive that you have read Pyrrhus and Cineas.— "Wherefore I intend to follow your precepts, and, "withal, to have some ships in readiness on the coast; "for they deny that there can be any better defence "against the Parthian horse. But, raillery apart:—

sent: cum et fugitivos reciperent, et Parthorum adventum acerrime expectarent: ad existimationem imperii pertinere arbitratus sum comprimere eorum audaciam—vallo et fossa circumdedi, sex castellis, castrisque maximis sepsi, aggere, vineis, turribus oppugnavi, ususque tormentis multis, multis sagittariis, magno labore meo—septimo quadragesimo die rem confeci. Ep. fam. 15. 4.

Qui (malum) isti Pindenissæ? qui sunt? inquies: nomen audivi nunquam. Quid ego faciam? potui Ciliciam, Ætoliam aut Macedoniam reddere? hoc jam sic habeto, nec hoc exercitu hic tanta negotia geri potuisse, &c. Ad Att. 5. 20.

Mancipia vænibant Saturnalibus tertiis, cum hæc scribebam in tribunali, res erat ad H. S. cxx. Ib.

† His erant finitimi pari scelere et audacia *Tiburani*: ab his, Pindenisso capto, obsides accepi, exercitum in hiberna dimisi. Q. Fratrem negotio præposui, ut in vicis aut captis aut malo pacatis exercitus collocaretur. Ep. fam. 15. 4.

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"you little think what a general you have to deal "with: for, in this government, I have reduced to "practice, what I had worn out before with reading, "the whole institution of Cyrus*," &c. These martial exploits spread Cicero's fame into Syria, where Bibulus was just arrived to take upon him the command; but kept himself close within the gates of Antioch, till the country was cleared of all the Parthians: his envy of Cicero's success, and title of *emperor*, made him impatient to purchase the same honour by the same service, on the Syrian side of the mountain Amanus: but he had the misfortune to be repulsed in his attempt, with the entire loss of the first cohort, and several officers of distinction, which Cicero calls an ugly blow, both for the time and the effect of it †.

Though Cicero had obtained what he calls a just victory at Amanus, and, in consequence of it, the appellation of *emperor*, which he assumed from this time; yet he sent no public account of it to Rome, till after the affair of Pindenissum, an exploit of more eclat and importance; for which he expected the honour of a *thanksgiving*, and began to entertain hopes even of a triumph. His public letter is lost, but that loss is supplied by a particular narrative of the whole action in

* Ep. fam. 9. 25.

† Erat in Syria nostrum nomen in gratia. Venit interim Bibulus. Credo voluit appellatione hac inani nobis esse par. In eodem Amano cœpit laureolam in mustaceo quærere. At ille cohortem primam totam perdidit—sane plagam odiosam acceperat tum re tum tempore. Ad Att. 5. 20.

A. Urb. 702. Cic. 56. Cos.—Serv. Sulpicius Rufus. M. Claudius Marcellus.

a private letter to Cato: the design of paying this compliment to Cato, was to engage his vote and concurrence to the decree of the supplication; and, by the pains which he takes to obtain it, where he was sure of gaining his point without it, shews the high opinion which he had of Cato's authority, and how desirous he was to have the testimony of it on his side. But Cato was not to be moved from his purpose by compliment, or motives of friendship: he was an enemy by principle to all decrees of this kind, and thought them bestowed too cheaply, and prostituted to occasions unworthy of them: so that when Cicero's letters came under deliberation, though he spoke with all imaginable honour and respect of Cicero, and highly extolled both his civil and military administration, yet he voted against the supplication; which was decreed, however, without any other dissenting voice, except that of Favonius, who loved always to mimic Cato, and of Hirrus, who had a personal quarrel with Cicero: yet, when the vote was over, Cato himself assisted in drawing up the decree, and had his name inserted in it; which was the usual mark of a particular approbation of the thing, and friendship to the person in whose favour it passed *. But Cato's answer to Cicero's letter

* Nunc publice literas Romam mittere parabam. Uberiores erunt, quam si ex Amano misissem. Ibid.

Deinde de triumpho, quem video, nisi reipub. tempora impedient, ἀπορίσω. Ad Att. 7. 1.

Ei porro assensus est unus, familiaris meus Favonius; alter iratus Hirrus. Cato autem et scribendo affuit. Ib.

Res ipsa declarat, tibi illum honorem supplicationis jucundum fuisse, quod scribendo affuisti. Hæc enim senatus consulta non ignoro

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will shew the temper of the man, and the grounds on which he acted on this occasion.

M. CATO to M. T. CICERO, Emperor.

"IN compliance with what both the republic and "our private friendship require of me, I rejoice that "your virtue, innocence, diligence, approved in the "greatest affairs, exerts itself every where with equal "vigour; at home in the gown, abroad in arms. I "did all, therefore, that I could do, agreeably to my "own judgment, when, in my vote and speech, I as-"cribed to your innocence and good conduct the de-"fence of your province, the safety of the kingdom "and person of Ariobarzanes; the recovery of the al-"lies to their duty and affection to our empire. I am "glad however, that a supplication is decreed; if "chance had no part, but the whole was owing to "your consummate prudence and moderation, you "are better pleased that we should hold ourselves in-"debted to the gods, than to you. But if you think "that a supplication will pave the way to a triumph, "and for that reason chuse that fortune should have "the praise, rather than yourself; yet a triumph does "not always follow a supplication, and it is much more "honourable than any triumph, for the senate to de-"cree, that a province is preserved to the empire by "the mildness and innocence of the general, rather

moro ab amicissimis ejus, cujus de honore agitur, scribi solere. Ep. fam. 15. 6.

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"than by the force of arms, and the favour of the gods. "This was the purpose of my vote; and I have now "employed more words, than it is my custom to do, "that you might perceive, what I chiefly wish to tes- "tify, how desirous I am to convince you, that, in re- "gard to your glory, I had a mind to do what I took "to be the most honourable for you; yet rejoice to "see that done which you are the most pleased with. "Adieu, and still love me; and, agreeably to the "course which you have begun, continue your inte- "grity and diligence to the allies, and the republic *."

Cæsar was delighted to hear of Cato's stiffness, in hopes that it would create a coldness between him and Cicero; and, in a congratulatory letter to Cicero, upon the success of his arms, and the supplication decreed to him, took care to aggravate the rudeness and ingratitude of Cato †. Cicero himself was highly disgusted at it; especially when Cato soon afterwards voted a supplication to his son-in-law, Bibulus, who had done much less to deserve it. "Cato," says he, "was shamefully malicious; he gave me what I did "not ask, a character of integrity, justice, clemency; "but denied me what I did—yet this same man vot- "ed a supplication of twenty days to Bibulus: par- "don me if I cannot bear this usage—‡" yet as he

* Ep. fam. 15. 5.

† Itaque Cæsar iis litteris, quibus mihi gratulatur, et omnia pollicetur, quo modo exultat Catonis in me ingratissimi injuria; ad Att. 7. 2.

‡ Aveo scire—Cato quid agat: qui quidem in me turpiter fuit malevolus. Dedit integritatis, justitiæ, clementiæ, fidei, testimonium,

A. Urb. 702. Cic. 56. Cos.—Serv. Sulpicius Rufus. M. Claudius Marcellus.

had a good opinion of Cato in the main, and a farther suit to make to the senate, in the demand of a triumph, he chose to dissemble his resentment, and returned him a civil answer, to signify his satisfaction and thanks for what he had thought fit to do *.

Cicero's campaign ended just so as Cælius had wished in one of his letters to him; with fighting enough to give a claim to the laurel; yet without the risk of a battle with the Parthians †. During these months of action, he sent away the two young Ciceros, the son and nephew, to king Deiotarus's court, under the conduct of the king's son, who came on purpose to invite them: they were kept strictly to their books and exercises, and made great proficiency in both; though the one of them, as Cicero says, wanted the bit, the other the spur: their tutor Dionysius attended them, a man of great learning and probity, but, as his young pupils complained, horribly passionate ‡. Deiotarus himself was setting forward to join Cicero with all his forces, upon the first news of the Parthian irruption: he had

nium, quod non quærebam, quod postulabam, negavit——at hic idem Bibulo dierum viginti. Ignosce mihi, non possum hæc ferre—ibid.——

* Ep. fam. 15. 6.

† Ut optasti, ita est; velles enim, ais, tantummodo ut haberem negotii quod esset ad laureolum satis. Parthos times, quia diffidis copiis nostris. Ep. fam. 2. 10. 8. 5.

† Cicerones nostros Deiotarus filius, qui rex a senatu appellatus est, secum in regnum. Dum in æstivis nos essemus, illum pueris locum esse bellissimum duximus. Ad Att. 5. 17.

Cicerones pueri amant inter se, discunt, exercentur: sed alter—frænis eget, alter calcaribus—Dionysius mihi quidem in amoribus est. Pueri autem aiunt eum furenter irasci. Sed homo nec doctior, nec sanctior fieri potest. Ib. 6. 1.

A. Urb. 702. Cic. 56. Coss.—Serv. Sulpicius Rufus. M. Claudius Marcellus.

with him thirty cohorts, of four hundred men each, armed and disciplined after the Roman manner, with two thousand horse; but the Parthian alarm being over, Cicero sent couriers to meet him on the road, in order to prevent his marching to no purpose so far from his own dominions †: the old king however seems to have brought the children back again in person, for the opportunity of paying his compliments, and spending some time with his friend; for by what Cicero intimates, they appear to have had an interview ‡.

The remaining part of Cicero's government was employed in the civil affairs of the province: where his whole care was, to ease the several cities and districts of that excessive load of debts in which the avarice and rapaciousness of former governors had involved them. He laid it down for the fixed rule of his administration, not to suffer any money to be expended either upon himself or his officers: and when one of his lieutenants, L. Tullius, in passing through the country, exacted only the forage and firing, which was due by law, and that but once a-day, and not, as all others had done before, from every town and village through which they passed, he was much out of humour, and could not help complaining of it as a

‡ Mihi tamen cum Deiotaro convenit, ut ille in meis castris esset cum omnibus suis copiis, habet autem cohortes quadringenarias nostra armatura triginta; equitum duo millia—ib.

† Deiotarum confestim jam ad me venientem cum magno et firmo comitatu et peditatu, et cum omnibus suis copiis, certiorem feci, non videri esse causam cur abesset a regno—Ep. fam. 15. 4.

‖ Deiotarus mihi narravit, &c. ad Att. 6. 1. 5. 21.

A. Urb. 702. Cic. 56. Coss—Serv. Sulpicius Rufus. M. Claudius Marcellus.

stain upon his government, since none of his people besides had taken even a single farthing. All the wealthier cities of the province used to pay to all their proconsuls large contributions, for being exempted from furnishing winter-quarters to the army: Cyprus alone paid yearly, on this single account, two hundred talents, or about forty thousand pounds: but Cicero remitted this whole tax to them, which alone made a vast revenue; and applied all the customary perquisites of his office to the relief of the oppressed province: yet, for all his services and generosity, which amazed the poor people, he would accept no honours but what were merely verbal; prohibiting all expensive monuments, as statues, temples, brazen horses, &c. which, by the flattery of Asia, used to be erected, of course, to all governors, though ever so corrupt and oppressive. While he was upon his visitation of the Asiatic districts, there happened to be a kind of famine in the country; yet wherever he came, he not only provided for his family at his own expence, but prevailed with the merchants and dealers, who had any quantity of corn in their store-houses, to supply the people with it on easy terms*; living him-

* Cave putes quicquam homines magis unquam essa miratos, quam nullum teruncium, me obtinente provinciam, sumtus factum esse, nec in. remp. nec in quemquam meorum, præterquam in L. Tullium, legatum. Is cæteroqui abstinens (sed Julia lege transita, semel tamen in diem, non ut alii solebant omnibus vicis) facit ut mihi excipiendus sit, cum teruncium nego sumtus factum. Præter eum accepit nemo. Has sordes a nostro Q. Titinio accepimus.—Ad Att. 5. 21.

Civitates locupletes, ne in hiberna milites reciperent, magnas pecunias

A. Urb. 702. Cic. 56. Cos—Serv. Sulpicius Rufus. M. Claudius Marcellus.

self, all the while, splendidly and hospitably, and keeping an open table, not only for all the Roman officers, but the gentry of the province †. In the following letter to Atticus, he gives him a summary view of his manner of governing.

"I see," says he, "that you are much pleased with "my moderation and abstinence; but you would be "much more so if you were with me, especially at Lao-"dicea, where I did wonders at the sessions, which I "have just held, for the affairs of the dioceses, from "the thirteenth of February to the first of May. Ma-"ny cities are wholly freed from all their debts, many "greatly eased, and all, by being allowed to govern "themselves by their own laws, have recovered new "life. There are two ways by which I have put them "into a capacity of freeing, or of easing themselves, "at least, of their debts; the one is, by suffering no "expence at all to be made on the account of my go-"vernment. When I say none at all, I speak not hy-"perbolically; there is not so much as a farthing: it "is incredible to think what relief they have found "from this single article. The other is this; their

pecunias dabant. Cyprii talenta Attica cc. Qua ex insula (non ὑπερβολικῶς sed verissime loquor) nummus nullus me obtinente erogabitur. Ob hæc beneficia, quibus obstupescunt, nullos honores mihi, nisi verborum, decerni sino. Statuas, fana, τεμένη, prohibeo. Ib.

Fames, quæ erat in hac mea Asia, mihi optanda fuerit. Quæcunque iter feci, nulla vi,—auctoritate et cohortatione perfeci, ut et Græci et cives Romani, qui frumentum compresserunt, magnam numerum populis pollicerentur. Ib.

† Ita vivam, ut maximos sumptus facio. Mirifice delector hoc instituto. Ad Att. 5. 15.

A. Urb. 702. Cic. 56. Coss.—Serv. Sulpicius Rufus. M. Claudius Marcellus.

"own Greek magistrates had strangely abused and "plundered them. I examined every one of them "who had borne any office for ten years past: they "all plainly confessed; and, without the ignominy "of a public conviction, made restitution of the mo-"ney which they had pillaged: so that the people, "who had paid nothing to our farmers for the present "lustrum, have now paid the arrears of the last, even "without murmuring. This has placed me in high "favour with the publicans; a grateful set of men, "you'll say: I have really found them such: The rest "of my jurisdiction shall be managed with the same "address; and create the same admiration of my cle-"mency and easiness. There is no difficulty of ac-"cess to me, as there is to all other provincial gover-"nors; no introduction by my chamberlain: I am "always up before day, and walking in my hall, with "my doors open, as I used to do, when a candidate "at Rome: this is great and gracious here; though "not at all troublesome to me, from my old habit and "discipline," * &c.

This method of governing gave no small umbrage to Appius; who considered it as a reproach upon himself, and sent several querulous letters to Cicero, because he had reversed some of his constitutions: "And no wonder," says Cicero, "that he is displeased "with my manner, for what can be more unlike, than "his administration and mine? under him, the province "was drained by expences and exactions; under me, not

* Ad Att. 6. 2.

A. Urb. 702. Cic. 56. Cos.—Serv. Sulpicius Rufus. M. Claudius Marcellus.

" a penny levied for public or private use: what shall I " say of his præfects, attendants, lieutenants? of their " plunders, rapines, injuries? whereas now, there is not " a single family governed with such order, discipline, " and modesty, as my province. This some of Ap- " pius's friends interpret ridiculously; as if I was tak- " ing pains to exalt my own character, in order to de- " press his; and doing all this, not for the sake of my " own credit, but of his disgrace *." But the truth was, that, from the time of his reconciliation with Appius, he had a sincere desire to live on good terms with him; as well out of regard to the splendour of his birth, and fortunes, as to his great alliances; for one of his daughters was married to Pompey's son, and another to Brutus †: so that, though their principles and maxims were totally different, yet he took care to do every thing with the greatest professions of honour and respect towards Appius, even when he found it necessary to rescind his decrees; considering himself only, he says, as a second physician called in to a case of sickness, where he found it necessary to change the method of cure, and, when the patient had been

* Quid enim potest esse tam dissimile, quam illo imperante, exhaustam esse sumptibus et jacturis provinciam, nobis eam obtinentibus, nummum nullum esse erogatum nec privatim nec publice, &c. —ib. 6. 1.

† Ego Appium, ut tecum sæpe sumi valde diligo. Meque ab eo diligi statim cœptum esse, ut simultatem deposuimus, sensi—jam me Pompeii totum esse scis: Brutum a me amari intelligis. Quid est causæ, cur mihi non in optatis est complecti hominem, florentem ætate, opibus, honoribus, ingenio, liberis, propinquis, affinibus, amicis.—Ep. fam. 2. 13.

A. Urb. 702. Cic. 56. Coss.—Serv. Sulpicius Rufus. M. Claudius Marcellus.

brought low by evacuations, and blood-letting, to apply all kinds of lenitive and restoring medicines ‡.

As soon as the government of Cilicia was allotted to him, he acquainted Appius with it by letter, begging of him, that, as no man could succeed to it with a more friendly disposition than himself, so Appius would deliver up the province to him, in such a condition, as one friend would expect to receive it from another *: in answer to which, Appius, having intimated some desire of an interview, Cicero took occasion to press it with much earnestness, as a thing of great service to them both; and that it might not be defeated, gave him an account of all his stages and motions, and offered to regulate them in such a manner, as to make the place of their meeting the most agreeable to Appius's convenience: but Appius being disgusted by the first edicts which Cicero published, resolved for that reason to disappoint him; and as Cicero advanced into the province, retired still to the remoter parts of it, and contrived to come upon him at last so suddenly, that Cicero had not warning enough given to go out and meet him; which Appius laid hold of, as a fresh ground of complaint against

‡ Ut si Medicus, cum ægrotus alii medico traditus sit, irasci velit ei medico, qui sibi successerit, si quæ ipse in curando constituerit mutet ille. Sic Appius, cum ἐξ ἀφαιρέσεως provinciam curarit, sanguinem miserit, &c. ad Att. 6. 1.

* Cum contra voluntatem meam—accidisset, ut mihi cum imperio in provinciam ire necesse esset—hæc una consolatio occurrebat, quod neque tibi amicior, quam ego sum, quisquam posset succedere, neque ego ab ullo provinciam accipere, qui mallet eam mihi quam maxime aptam explicatamque tradere, &c. Ep. fam. 3. 2.

A. Urb. 702. Cic. 56. Cos.—Ser. Sulpicius Rufus. M. Claudius Marcellus

Cicero's pride, for refusing that common piece of respect to him †.

This provoked Cicero to expostulate with him, with great spirit——"I was informed," says he, "by one "of my apparitors, that you complained of me for not "coming out to meet you: I despised you, it seems, "so as nothing could be prouder——when your ser- "vant came to me near midnight, and told me, that "you would be with me at Iconium before day, but "could not say by which road, when there were two; "I sent out your friend Varro by the one, and Q. "Lepta, the commander of my artillery, by the o- "ther, with instructions to each of them, to bring me "timely notice of your approach, that I might come "out in person to meet you. Lepta came running "back presently in all haste to acquaint me, that you "had already passed by the camp; upon which I went "directly to Iconium, where you know the rest. Did "I then refuse to come out to you? to Appius Clau- "dius; to an emperor; then, according to ancient "custom; and above all to my friend? I, who of all "men am apt to do more in that way than becomes "my dignity? but enough of this. The same man "told me likewise, that you said, What! Appius "went out to meet Lentulus; Lentulus to Appius; "but Cicero would not come out to Appius. Can "you then be guilty of such impertinence? a man, in

† —me libenter ad eam partem provinciæ primum esse venturum, quo te maxime velle arbitrarer, &c.—ib. 5.

Appius noster, cum me adventare videt, profectus est. Tarsum usque Laodicea—ad Att. 5. 17.

A. Urb. 702. Cic. 56. Cos.—Serv. Sulpicius Rufus. M. Claudius Marcellus.

" my judgment, of the greatest prudence, learning, " experience; and I may add, politeness too, which " the Stoics rightly judge to be a virtue? Do you " imagine, that your Appius's and Lentulus's are of " more weight with me than the ornaments of virtue? " Before I had obtained those honours, which, in the " opinion of the world, are thought to be the greatest, " I never fondly admired those names of yours: I " looked indeed upon those, who had left them to " you, as great men; but after I had acquired, and " born the highest commands, so as to have nothing " more to desire, either of honour or glory, I never in- " deed considered myself as your superior, but hoped " that I was become your equal: nor did Pompey, " whom I prefer to all men who ever lived, nor Len- " tulus, whom I prefer to myself, think otherwise: if " you however are of a different opinion, it will do " you no harm to read with some attention what A- " thenodorus says on this subject, that you may learn " wherein true nobility consists. But to return to " the point: I desire you to look upon me, not only " as your friend, but a most affectionate one: it shall " be my care by all possible services to convince you " that I am truly so: but if you have a mind to let " people see that you are less concerned for my in- " terests, in my absence, than my pains for yours de- " served, I free you from that trouble;

" For I have friends enough to serve and love
" Both me and mine, and above all, Great Jove.

Ib. 1. 174.

A. Urb. 702. Cic. 56. Cos.—Serv. Sulpicius Rufus. M. Claudius Marcellus.

" but if you are naturally querulous, you shall not still " hinder my good offices and wishes for you: all that " you will do, is to make me less solicitous how you " take them. I have written this with more than my " usual freedom, from the consciousness of my duty " and affection, which being contracted by choice and " judgment, it will be in your power to preserve, as " long as you think proper. Adieu *."

Cicero's letters to Appius make one book of his familiar epistles, the greatest part of which are of the expostulatory kind, on the subject of their mutual jealousies and complaints: in this slippery state of their friendship, an accident happened at Rome, which had like to put an end to it. His daughter Tullia, after parting from her second husband Crassipes, as it is probably thought, by divorce †, was married in her father's absence to a third, P. Cornelius Dolabella: several parties had been offered to her, and among them Ti. Claudius Nero, who afterwards married Livia, whom Augustus took away from him: Nero made his proposals to Cicero in Cilicia, who referred him to the women to whom he had left the management of that affair; but before those overtures reached them, they had made up the match with Dolabella, being mightily taken with his complaisant and obsequious

* Ep. fam. 3. 7.

† What confirms this notion is, that Crassipes appears to have been alive at this time, and under Cicero's displeasure, who mentions him as the only senator, besides Hirrus, to whom he did not think fit to write about the affair of his supplication. Ad Att. 7. 1.

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address ‡. He was a nobleman of Patrician descent, and of great parts and politeness, but of a violent, daring, ambitious temper, warmly attached to Cæsar; and, by a life of pleasure and expence, which the prudence of Tullia, it was hoped, would correct, greatly distressed in his fortunes, which made Cicero very uneasy, when he came afterwards to know it *. Dolabella, at the time of his marriage, for which he made way also by the divorce of his wife †, gave a proof of his enterprising genius, by impeaching Appius Claudius of practices against the state, in his government of Cilicia, and of bribery and corruption in his suit for the consulship. This put a great difficulty upon Cicero, and made it natural to suspect that he privately favoured the impeachment, where the accuser was his son-in-law: but, in clearing himself of it to Appius, though he dissembled a little perhaps in disclaiming any part or knowledge of that match, yet he was very sincere in professing himself an utter stranger to the

‡ Ego dum in provincia omnibus rebus Appium orno, subito sum factus accusatoris ejus socer—sed crede mihi nihil minus putaram ego, qui de Ti. Nerone, qui mecum egerat, certos homines ad mulieres miseram, qui Romam venerunt factis sponsalibus. Sed hoc spero melius. Mulieres quidem valde intelligo delectari obsequio et comitate adolescentis.—ad Att. 6. 6.

* Gener est suavis—quantumvis vel ingenii, vel humanitatis; satis. Reliqua quæ nosti ferenda. Ad Att. 7. 3.

Dolabellam a te gaudeo primum laudari, deinde etiam amari. Nam ea quæ speras Tulliæ meæ prudentia posse temperari, scio cui tuæ epistolæ respondeant. Ep. fam. 2. 15. it. 8. 13.

Hac oblectabar specula, Dolabellam meum fore ab iis molestiis, quas liberalitate sua contraxerat, liberum—ib. 16.

† Illud mihi occurrit, quod inter postulationem, et nominis delationem, uxor a Dolabella discessit—ib. 8. 6.

A. Urb. 702. Cic. 56. Cos.—Serv. Sulpicius Rufus. M. Claudius Marcellus.

impeachment, and was in truth greatly disturbed at it. But as, from the circumstance of his succeeding to Appius in his government, he was of all men the most capable of serving or hurting him at the trial, so Pompey, who took great pains to skreen Appius, was extremely desirous to engage him on their side, and had thoughts of sending one of his sons to him for that purpose: but Cicero saved them that trouble, by declaring early and openly for Appius, and promising every thing from the province that could possibly be of service to him, which he thought himself obliged to do the more forwardly, to prevent any suspicion of treachery to his friend, on the account of his new alliance †: so that Appius, instead of declining a trial, contrived to bring it on as soon as he could; and, with that view, having dropped his pretensions to a triumph, entered the city, and offered himself to his judges, before his accuser was prepared for him, and was acquitted, without any difficulty, of both the indictments.

In a little time after his trial he was chosen censor, together with Piso, Cæsar's father-in-law, the last who bore that office during the freedom of the republic. Clodius's law, mentioned above, which had greatly re-

† Pompeius dicitur valde pro Appio laborare, ut etiam putent ulterutrum de filiis ad te missurum. Ibid.—

Post hoc negotium autem et temeritatem nostri Dolabellæ deprecatorem me pro illius periculo præbeo——ib. 2. 13.

Tamen hac mihi affinitate nunciata, non majore equidem studio, sed acrius, apertius, significantius dignitatem tuam defendissem—nam ut vetus nostra simultas antea stimulabat me, ut caverem ne cui suspicionem ficte reconciliatæ gratiæ darem: sic affinitas novam curam affert cavendi. Ib. 3. 12.

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strained the power of these magistrates, was repealed the last year by Scipio, the consul, and their ancient authority restored to them ‡, which was now exercised with great rigour by Appius, who, though really a libertine, and remarkable for indulging himself in all the luxury of life, yet, by an affectation of severity, hoped to retrieve his character, and pass for an admirer of that ancient discipline for which many of his ancestors had been celebrated. Cælius gives a pleasant account of him to Cicero: "Do you know," says he, "that the censor Appius is doing wonders amongst "us, about statues and pictures, the number of our "acres, and the payment of debts: he takes the cen-"sorship for soap or nitre, and thinks to scour himself "clean with it; but he is mistaken; for while he is "labouring to wash out his stains, he opens his very "veins and bowels, and lets us see him the more inti-"mately: run away to us, by all the gods, to laugh at "these things: Drusus sits judge upon adultery, by "the Scantinian law: Appius on statues and pic-"tures *." But this vain and unseasonable attempt of reformation, instead of doing any good, served only to alienate people from Pompey's cause, with whom Appius was strictly allied, whilst his colleague Piso,

‡ Dio, p. 147.

* Scis Appium censorem hic ostenta facere? de signis et tabulis, de agri modo, et ære alieno acerrime agere? persuasum est ei, censuram lomentum aut nitrum esse. Errare mihi videtur. Nam sordes eluere vult, venas sibi omnes et viscera aperit. Curre per Deos, et quam primum hæc risum veni. Legis Scantiniæ judicium apud Drusum fieri. Appium de tabulis et signis agere.—Ep. fam. 8. 14.

A. Urb. 702. Cic. 56. Cos.—Serv. Sulpicius Rufus. M. Claudius Marcellus.

who foresaw that effect, chose to sit still, and suffer him to disgrace the knights and senators at pleasure, which he did with great freedom; and, amongst others, turned Sallust, the historian, out of the senate, and was hardly restrained from putting the same affront upon Curio, which added still more friends and strength to Cæsar *.

As to the public news of the year, the grand affair, that engaged all peoples thoughts, was the expectation of a breach between Cæsar and Pompey, which seemed now unavoidable, and in which all men were beginning to take part, and ranging themselves on the one side or the other. On Pompey's, there was "a great majority of the senate and the magistrates, "with the better sort of all ranks: on Cæsar's, all the "criminal and obnoxious, all who had suffered punish-"ment, or deserved it; the greatest part of the youth, "and the city mob; some of the popular tribunes, "and all who were oppressed with debts; who had a "leader fit for their purpose, daring, and well provid-"ed, and wanting nothing but a cause." This is Cicero's account; and Cælius's is much the same: "I "see," says he, "that Pompey will have the senate, "and all who judge of things; Cæsar, all who live in "fear and uneasiness; but there is no comparison be-"tween their armies †." Cæsar had put an end to

* Dio. l. 40. p. 150.

† Hoc video, cum homine audacissimo, paratissimoque negotium esse: omnes damnatos, omnes ignominia affectos, omnes damnatione ignominiaque dignos illac facere. Omnem fere juventutem, omnem illam

A. Urb. 702. Cic. 56. Cos.—Serv. Sulpicius Rufus. M. Claudius Marcellus.

the Gallic war, and reduced the whole province to the Roman yoke: but, though his commission was near expiring, he seemed to have no thoughts of giving it up, and returning to the condition of a private subject: he pretended, that he could not possibly be safe, if he parted with his army, especially while Pompey held the province of Spain, prolonged to him for five years †. The senate, in the mean while, in order to make him easy, had consented to let him take the consulship, without coming to sue for it in person: but when that did not satisfy him, the consul, M. Marcellus, one of his fiercest enemies, moved them to abrogate his command directly, and appoint him a successor; and since the war was at an end, to oblige him to disband his troops, and to come likewise in person to sue for the consulship, nor to allow the freedom of the city to his colonies beyond the Po: this related particularly to a favourite colony, which Cæsar, when consul, had settled at Comum, at the foot of the Alps, with the freedom of the city granted to it by the Vatinian law ‡. All the other colonies on that side of the Po had before obtained from Pompey's father the

illam urbanam ac perditam plebem; tribunos valentes—omnes, qui ære alieno premantur—causam solam illa causa non habet, cæteris rebus abundat——ad Att. 7. 3.

In hac discordia video, Cn. Pompeium senatum, quique res judicant, secum habiturum: ad Cæsarem omnes, qui cum timore aut mala spe vivant ad Cæsarem accessuros. Exercitum conferendum non esse. Ep. fam. 8. 14.

† Cæsari autem persuasum est, se salvum esse non posse, si ab exercitu recesserit. Fert illam tamen conditionem, ut ambo exercitus tradant. Ibid.

‡ Sueton. J. Cæs. c. 28. Strabo, l. 5. 326.

A. Urb. 702. Cic. 56. Coss.—Serv. Sulpicius Rufus. M. Claudius Marcellus.

rights of Latium, that is, the freedom of Rome to those who had born an annual magistracy in them: but M. Marcellus, out of a singular enmity to Cæsar, would allow no such right to his colony of Comum; and having caught a certain Comensian magistrate, who was acting the citizen at Rome, he ordered him to be seized, and publicly whipt; an indignity from which all citizens were exempted by law; bidding the man go and shew those marks of his citizenship to Cæsar *. Cicero condemns this act as violent and unjust; "Mar-" cellus," says he, "behaved shamefully in the case of " the Comensian: for if the man had never been a " magistrate, he was yet of a colony beyond the Po; " so that Pompey will not be less shocked at it than " Cæsar himself †."

The other consul, Serv. Sulpicius, was of a more candid and moderate temper; and, being unwilling to give such a handle for a civil war, opposed and overruled the motions of his colleague, by the help of some of the tribunes: nor was Pompey himself disposed to proceed so violently, or to break with Cæsar, on that foot; but thought it more plausible to let his term run out, and his command expire of itself, and so throw upon him the odium of turning his arms against his country, if he should resolve to act against the senate and the laws. This counsel prevailed, after many warm contestations, in which the summer was chiefly

* Appian. 2. 443.

† Marcellus fœde de Comensi: etsi ille magistratum non gesserit, erat tamen Transpadanus. Ita mihi videtur non minus stomachi nostro, ac Cæsari movisse. Ad Att. 5. 11.

A. Urb. 702. Cic. 56. Coss.—Serv. Sulpicius Rufus. M. Claudius Marcellus.

spent, and a decree was offered on the last of September, "That the consuls elect, L. Paulus and C. Mar-"cellus should move the senate on the first of March, "to settle the consular provinces; and if any magi-"strate should interpose, to hinder the effect of their "decrees, that he should be deemed an enemy to the "republic; and if any one actually interposed, that "this vote and resolution should be entered into the "journals, to be considered some other time by the "senate, and laid also before the people." But four of the tribunes gave their joint negative to this decree, C. Cælius, L. Vinicius, P. Cornelius, and C. Vibius Pansa. In the course of these debates, Pompey, who affected great moderation in whatever he said of Cæsar, was teized and urged on all sides to make an explicit declaration of his sentiments. When he called it unjust to determine any thing about Cæsar's government, before the first of March, the term prescribed to it by law, being asked, "What, if any one should "then put a negative upon them," he said, "there was "no difference whether Cæsar refused to obey the de-"crees of the senate, or provided men to obstruct "them:" "What," says another, "if he should insist "on being consul, and holding his province too? What," replied Pompey, "if my son should take a stick and cudgel me ‡?" intimating the one to be as incredible and as impious also as the other.

‡ Cum interrogaretur, si qui tum intercederent: dixit hoc nihil interesse, utrum C. Cæsar senatui dicto audiens futurus non esset, an pararet, qui senatum decernere non pateretur. Quid si, inquit alius,

A. Urb. 702. Cic. 56. Coss.—Serv. Sulpicius Rufus. M. Claudius Marcellus.

Cicero's friend Cælius obtained the ædileship this summer from his competitor Hirrus, the same who had opposed Cicero in the augurate, and whose disappointment gave occasion to many jokes between them in their letters †. In this magistracy, it being customary to procure wild beasts of all kinds from different parts of the empire, for the entertainment of the city, Cælius begged of Cicero to supply him with panthers from Cilicia, and to employ the Cybarites, a people of his province famed for hunting, to catch them: "for "it would be a reflection upon you," says he, "when "Curio had ten panthers from that country, not to "let me have many more." He recommends to him, at the same time, M. Feridius, a Roman knight, who had an estate in Cilicia, charged with some services or quit-rent to the neighbouring cities, which he begs of him to get discharged, so as to make the lands free‡: he seems also to have desired Cicero's consent to his levying certain contributions upon the cities of his province, towards defraying the expence of his shews at Rome; a prerogative which the ædiles always claimed, and sometimes practised; though it was denied to

alius, et consul esse et exercitum habere volet? at ille quam clementer. Quid si filius meus fustem mihi impingere volet? Ep. fam. 8. 8.

† Ep. Fam. 2. 9, 10. it. 8. 2, 3, 9.

‡ Fere literis omnibus tibi de pantheris scripsi. Turpe tibi erit, Patiscum Curioni decem pantheras misisse, te non multis partibus plures, &c. Ep. Fam. 8. 9.

M. Feridium, tibi commendo. Agros, quos fructuarios habent civitates, vult tuo beneficio, quod tibi facile et honestum factu est, immunes esse. Ib.

A. Urb. 702. Cic. 56. Coss.—Serv. Sulpicius Rufus. M. Claudius Marcellus.

them by some governors, and particularly by Quintus Cicero in Asia, upon the advice of his brother §: in answer to all which, Cicero replied, "that he was sor-"ry to find that his actions were so much in the dark, "that it was not yet known at Rome, that not a far-"thing had been exacted in his province, except for "the payment of just debts: that it was neither fit "for him to extort money, nor for Cælius to take it, "if it were designed for himself: and admonished "him, who had undertaken the part of accusing o-"thers, to live himself with more caution—and, as to "panthers, that it was not consistent with his charac-"ter to impose the charge of hunting them upon the "poor people ||." But though he would not break his rules for the sake of his friend, yet he took care to provide panthers for him at his own expence, and says pleasantly upon it, that the beasts made a sad complaint against him, and resolved to quit the country, since no snares were laid in his province for any other creature but themselves *.

Curio likewise obtained the tribunate this summer, which he sought with no other design, as many imagined, than for the opportunity of mortifying Cæsar,

§ Ad Quint. Frat. 1. 1. § 9.

|| Rescripsi, me moleste ferre, si ego in tenebris laterem, nec audiretur Romæ, nullum in mea provincia nummum nisi in æs alienum erogari; docuique nec mihi conciliare pecuniam licere, nec illi capere; monuique eum, &c. Ad Att. 6. 1.

* De pantheris, per eos, qui venari solent, agitur mandato meo diligenter: sed mira paucitas est: et eas, quæ sunt, valde aiunt queri quod nihil cuiquam insidiarum in mea provincia nisi sibi fiat. Ep. Fam. 2. 11.

A. Urb. 702. Cic. 56. Coss.—Serv. Sulpicius Rufus. M. Claudius Marcellus.

against whom he had hitherto acted with great fierceness †. But Cicero, who knew from the temper and views of them both, how easy it would be to make up matters between them, took occasion to write a congratulatory letter to him upon this advancement, in which he exhorts him with great gravity, "to consider into what a dangerous crisis his tribunate had "fallen, not by chance, but his own choice; what "violence of the times, what variety of dangers hung "over the republic, how uncertain the events of things "were, how changeable mens minds, how much treachery and falsehood in human life—he begs of him, "therefore, to beware of entering into any new councils, but to pursue and defend what he himself "thought right, and not suffer himself to be drawn away by the advice of others,"—referring, without doubt, to M. Antony, the chief companion and corrupter of his youth: In the conclusion, he conjures him, to "employ his present power to hinder his provincial trouble from being prolonged by any new act "of the senate ‡."—Cicero's suspicions were soon confirmed by letters from Rome; whence Cælius sent him word of Curio's changing sides, and declaring himself for Cæsar: in answer to which, Cicero says, "the last page of your letter in your own hand really "touched me. What do you say? is Curio turned "advocate for Cæsar? who would have thought it be-

† Sed ut spero et volo, et ut se fert ipse Curio, bonos et senatum malet. Totus ut nunc est, hoc scaturit. Ib. 8. 4.

‡ Ep. Fam. 2. 7.

A. Urb. 702. Cic. 56. Coss.—Serv. Sulpicius Rufus. M. Claudius Marcellus.

"sides myself? for, let me die if I did not expect it! "Good gods, how much do I long to be laughing with "you at Rome §!"

A. Urb. 703. Cic. 57. Coss—L. Æmilius Paullus. C. Claudius Marcellus.

THE new consuls being Cicero's particular friends, he wrote congratulatory letters to them both upon their election, in which he begged the concurrence of their authority to the decree of his supplication; and, what he had more at heart, that they would not suffer any prolongation of his annual term; in which they readily obliged him, and received his thanks also by letter for that favour *. It was expected, that something decisive would now be done in relation to the two Gauls, and the appointment of a successor to Cæsar, since both the consuls were supposed to be his enemies: but all attempts of that kind were still frustrated by the intrigues of Cæsar; for when C. Marcellus began to renew the same motion, which his kinsman had made the year before, he was obstructed by his colleague Paullus, and the tribune Curio, whom Cæsar had privately gained by immense bribes, to suffer nothing prejudicial to his interest to pass during their magistracy †. He is said to have given Paullus

§ Extrema pagella pupugit me tuo chirographo. Quid ais? Cæsarem nunc defendit Curio? quis hoc putaret præter me? nam ita vivam, putavi. Ib. 13.

* Ep. fam. 15. 7, 10, 11, 12, 13.

† Sueton. J. Cæs. 29.

A. Urb. 703. Cic. 57. Coss—L. Æmilius Paullus. C. Claudius Marcellus.

about three hundred thousand pounds, and to Curio much more ‡. The first wanted it to defray the charges of those splendid buildings which he had undertaken to raise at his own cost: the second, to clear himself of the load of his debts, which amounted to about half a million *: for he had wasted his great fortunes so effectually in a few years, that he had no other revenue left, as Pliny says, but in the hopes of a civil war †. These facts are mentioned by all the Roman writers;

Momentumque fuit mutatus Curio rerum,
Gallorum captus spoliis & Cæsaris auro.—
Lucan. 4. 819.

Caught by the spoils of Gaul, and Cæsar's gold,
Curio turn'd traitor, and his country sold.

and Servius applies that passage of Virgil, *vendidit hic auro patriam*, to the case of Curio's selling Rome to Cæsar.

Cicero in the meantime was expecting with impatience, the expiration of his annual term, but, before he could quit the province, he was obliged to see the account of all the money, which had passed through his own or his officers hands, stated and balanced; and three fair copies provided, two to be deposited in two of the principal cities of his jurisdiction, and a third in the treasury at Rome. That his whole administra-

‡ Appian. l. ii. p. 443.
* Sexcenties sestertium æris alieni. Val. Max. 9. 1.
† Qui nihil in censu habuerit, præter discordiam principum. Plin. Hist. l. 36. 15.

A. Urb. 703. Cic. 57. Cos.—L. Æmilius Paullus. C. Claudius Marcellus.

tion therefore might be of a piece, he was very exact and punctual in acquitting himself of this duty, and would not indulge his officers in the use of any public money beyond the legal time, or above the sum prescribed by law, as appears from his letters to some of them who desired it *. Out of the annual revenue, which was decreed to him for the use of the province, he remitted to the treasury all that he had not expended, to the amount of above eight hundred thousand pounds. "This, (says he,) makes my whole com-"pany groan; they imagined that it should have "been divided among themselves, as if I ought to "have been a better manager for the treasuries of "Phrygia and Cilicia, than for our own. But they "did not move me; for my own honour weighed "with me the most: yet I have not been wanting to "do every thing in my power that is honourable and "generous to them all †."

* Laodiceæ me prædes accepturum arbitror omnis publicæ pecuniæ—nihil est, quod in isto genere cuiquam possim commodare, &c. Ep. fam. 2. 17.

Illud quidem certe factum est, quod lex jubebat, ut apud duas civitates, Laodicensem, et Apamaensem, quæ nobis maximæ videbantur—rationes confectas et consolidatas deponeremus, &c. Ib. 5. 20.

† Cum enim rectum et gloriosum putarem ex annuo sumptu, qui mihi decretus esset. Me C. Cælio quæstori relinquere annum, referre in ærarium ad H. S. CIC. ingemuit nostra cohors, omne illud putans distribui sibi oportere: ut ego amicior invenirer Phrygum aut Cilicum ærariis, quam nostro. Sed me non moverunt; nam mea laus apud me plurimum valuit. Nec tamen quicquam honorifice in quemquam fieri potuit, quod prætermiserim. ad Att. 7. 1.

A. Urb. 703. Cic. 57. Cos.—L. Æmilius Paullus. C. Claudius Marcellus.

His last concern was, to what hands he should commit the government of his province upon his leaving it, since there was no successor appointed by the senate, on account of the heats among them about the case of Cæsar, which disturbed all their debates, and interrupted all other business. He had no opinion of his quæstor, C. Cælius, a young man of noble birth, but of no great virtue or prudence; and was afraid, after his glorious administration, that, by placing so great a trust in one of his character, he should expose himself to some censure. But he had no body about him of superior rank, who was willing to accept it, and did not care to force it upon his brother, lest that might give a handle to suspect him of some interest or partiality in the choice *. He dropt the province therefore, after some deliberation, into Cælius's hands, and set forward immediately upon his journey towards Italy.

But before he quitted Asia, he begged of Atticus by letter, to send him a particular detail of all the news of the city—"There are odious reports, (says he,) "about Curio and Paullus; not that I see any dan- "ger, while Pompey stands, or I may say indeed, "while he sits, if he has but his health; but in truth,

* Ego de provincia decedens quæstorem Cælium præposui provinciæ. Puerum? inquies. At quæstorem; at nobilem adolescentem; at omnium fere exemplo. Neque erat superiore honore usus, quem præficerem. Pontinius multo ante discesserat. A Quinto fratre impetrari non poterat: quem tamen si reliquissem, dicerent iniqui, non me plane post annum, ut senatus voluisset, de provincia decessisse, quoniam alterum me reliquissem. Ep. fam. 2. 15. vid. it. ad Att. 6, 5, 6.

A. Urb. 703. Cic. 57. Coss.—L. Æmilius Paullus. C. Claudius Marcellus.

"I am sorry for his friends, Curio and Paullus. If "you are now therefore at Rome, or as soon as you "come thither, I would have you to send me a plan "of the whole republic, which may meet me on the "road, that I may form myself upon it, and resolve "what temper to assume on my coming to the city: "for it is some advantage not to come thither a mere "stranger †." We see what a confidence he placed in Pompey, on whom indeed their whole prospect either of peace with Cæsar, or of success against him depended: as to the intimation about his health, it is expresssd more strongly in another letter: "All our "hopes," says he, "hang upon the life of one man, who "is attacked every year by a dangerous fit of sickness*." His constitution seems to have been peculiarly subject to fevers; the frequent returns of which, in the present situation of affairs, gave great apprehension to all his party: in one of those fevers, which threatened his life for many days successively, all the towns of Italy put up public prayers for his safety; an honour which had never been paid before to any man, while Rome was free ‡.

† Huc odiosa afferebantur de Curione, de Paullo: non quo ullum periculum videam stante Pompeio, vel etiam sedente, valeat modo. Sed mehercule Curionis et Paulli meorum familiarium vicem doleo. Formam igitur mihi totius Reip. si jam es Romæ, aut cum eris, velim mittas, quæ mihi obviam veniat. Ex qua me fingere possum, &c. ad Att. 6. 3.

* In unius hominis, quotannis periculose ægrotantis, anima, positas omnes nostras spes habemus——ibid. 8. 2.

‡ Quo quidem tempore universa Italia vota pro salute ejus, primo omnium civium, suscepit——Vell. Pat. 2. 48. Dio, p. 155.

A. Urb. 703. Cic. 57. Coss.—L. Æmilius Paullus. C. Claudius Marcellus.

usually in the same way of thinking and acting in the affairs of the republic; till Cicero, in the case of his exile, discovered the plain marks of a lurking envy and infidelity in Hortensius: yet his resentment carried him no farther than to some free complaints of it to their common friend Atticus, who made it his business to mitigate this disgust, and hinder it from proceeding to an open breach; so that Cicero, being naturally placable, lived again with him after his return, on the same easy terms as before, and lamented his death at this time with great tenderness, not only as the private loss of a friend, but a public misfortune to his country, in being deprived of the service and authority of so experienced a statesman at so critical a conjuncture †.

From Rhodes he passed on to Ephesus, whence he set sail, on the first of October, and, after a tedious passage, landed at Athens on the fourteenth *. Here he lodged again in his old quarters, at the house of his friend Aristus. His predecessor, Appius, who passed also through Athens on his return, had ordered a new portico or vestibule to be built at his cost to the temple of the Eleusinian Ceres; which suggested a thought likewise to Cicero of adding some ornament of the same kind to the academy, as a public monument of his

† Nam et amico amisso cum consuetudine jucunda, tum multorum officiorum conjunctione me privatum videbam—augebat etiam molestiam, quod magna sapientium civium bonorumque penuria, vir egregius, conjunctissimusque mecum consiliorum omnium societate alienissimo reipub. tempore extinctus—Brut. init.

* Prid. Id. Octob. Athenas venimus, cum sane adversis ventis usi essemus. Ep. fam. 14. 5.

A. Urb. 703. Cic. 57. Cos.—L. Æmilius Paullus. C. Claudius Marcellus.

name, as well as of his affection for the place: for he hated, he says, those false inscriptions of other people's statues *, with which the Greeks used to flatter their new masters, by effacing the old titles, and inscribing them anew to the great men of Rome. He acquainted Atticus with his design, and desired his opinion upon it: but, in all probability, it was never executed, since his stay at Athens was now very short, and his thoughts wholly bent on Italy: for, as all his letters confirmed to him the certainty of a war, in which he must necessarily bear a part, so he was impatient to be at home, that he might have the clearer view of the state of affairs, and take his measures with the greater deliberation †. Yet he was not still without hopes of peace, and that he should be able to make up the quarrel between the chiefs; for he was, of all men, the best qualified to effect it, on account, not only of his authority, but of his intimate friendship with them both; who severally paid great court to him at this time, and reckoned upon him as their own, and wrote

* Audio Appium προπύλαιον, Eleusine facere. Num inepti fuerimus, si nos quoque academiæ facerimus?—equidem valde ipsas Athenas amo. Volo esse aliquod monumentum. Odi falsas inscriptiones alienarum statuarum. Sed ut tibi placebit. Ad Att. 6. 1.

† Cognovi ex multorum amicorum literis—ad arma rem spectare. Ut mihi cum venero, dissimulare non liceat, quid sentiam. Sed quum subeunda fortuna est, eo citius dabimus operam ut veniamus, quo facilius de tota re deliberemus. Ep. fam. 14. 5.

Sive enim ad concordiam res adduci potest, sive ad bonorum victoriam, utriusve rei me aut adjutorem esse velim, aut certe non expertem. Ad. Att. 7. 3.

A. Urb. 703. Cic. 57. Coss.—L. Æmilius Paullus. C. Claudius Marcellus.

to him with a confidence of his being a determined friend *.

In his voyage from Athens towards Italy, Tiro, one of his slaves, whom he soon after made free, happened to fall sick, and was left behind at Patræ to the care of friends and a physician. The mention of such an accident will seem trifling to those who are not acquainted with the character and excellent qualities of Tiro, and how much we are indebted to him for preserving and transmitting to posterity the precious collection of Cicero's letters, of which a great part still remain, and one entire book of them written to Tiro himself; several of which relate to the subject of this very illness. Tiro was trained up in Cicero's family, among the rest of his young slaves, in every kind of useful and polite learning, and, being a youth of singular parts and industry, soon became an eminent scholar, and extremely serviceable to his master in all his affairs both civil and domestic. "As for Tiro," says he to Atticus, "I see you have a concern for him: "though he is wonderfully useful to me, when he is "well, in every kind both of my business and studies, "yet I wish his health, more for his own humanity and "modesty, than for any service which I reap from "him †." But his letter to Tiro himself will best

* Ipsum tamen Pompeium separatim ad concordiam hortabor. Ib. Me autem uterque numerat suum. Nisi forte simulat alter: Nam Pompeius non dubitat (vere enim judicat) ea, quæ de repub. nunc sentiat, mihi valde probari. Utriusque autem accepi litteras ejusmodi—ut neuter quemquam omnium pluris facere quam me videretur. Ib. 7. 1.

† De Tirone video tibi curæ esse. Quem quidem ego, et si mirabiles

A. Urb. 703. Cic. 57. Coss.—L. Æmilius Paullus. C. Claudius Marcellus.

shew what an affectionate master he was: for from the time of leaving him, he never failed writing to him by every messenger or ship which passed that way, though it were twice or thrice a-day, and often sent one of his servants express to bring an account of his health: the first of these letters will give us a notion of the rest.

M. T. CICERO to TIRO.

"I thought that I should have been able to bear "the want of you more easily; but in truth I cannot "bear it: and though it is of great importance to my "expected honour, to be at Rome as soon as possible, "yet I seem to have committed a sin when I left you. "But since you were utterly against proceeding in the "voyage till your health was confirmed, I approved "your resolution; nor do I now think otherwise, if "you continue in the same mind. But after you have "begun to take meat again, if you think that you "shall be able to overtake me, that is left to your con-"sideration. I have sent Mario to you with instruc-"tions, either to come with you to me as soon as you "can, or if you should stay longer, to return instant-"ly without you. Assure yourself however of this, "that, as far as it can be convenient to your health, "I wish nothing more than to have you with me; but "if it be necessary for the perfecting your recovery,

rabiles utilitates mihi præbet, cum valet, in omni genere vel negotiorum vel studiorum meorum, tamen propter humanitatem et modestiam malo salvum, quam propter usum meum. Ad Att. 7. 5.

A. Urb. 703. Cic. 57. Cos.—L. Æmilius Paulus. C. Claudius Marcellus.

" to stay a while longer at Patræ; that I wish nothing " more than to have you well. If you sail immediate- " ly, you will overtake me at Leucas: but if you stay " to establish your health, take care to have good com- " pany, good weather, and a good vessel. Observe " this one thing, my Tiro, if you love me, that neither " Mario's coming, nor this letter, hurry you. By do- " ing what is most conducive to your health, you will " do what is most agreeable to me: weigh all these " things by your own discretion. I want you; yet " so as to love you; my love makes me wish to see " you well; my want of you, to see you as soon as " possible: the first is the better; take care, there- " fore, above all things, to get well again: of all your " innumerable services to me, that will be the most " acceptable.—The third of November *."

By the honour that he mentions in the letter, he means the honour of a triumph, which his friends encouraged him to demand for his success at Amanus and Pindenissum: in writing upon it to Atticus, he says, " consider what you would advise me with re- " gard to a triumph, to which my friends invite me: " for my part, if Bibulus, who, while there was a Par- " thian in Syria, never set a foot out of the gates of " Antioch, any more than he did, upon a certain oc- " casion, out of his own house, had not solicited a tri- " umph, I should have been quiet; but now it is a " shame to sit still †". Again, " as to a triumph, I " had no thoughts of it before Bibulus's most impudent

* Ep. fam. 16. 1. † Ad Att. 6. 8.

A. Urb. 703. Cic. 57. Coss.—L. Æmilius Paullus. C. Claudius Marcellus.

" letters, by which he obtained an honourable suppli-
" cation. If he had really done all that he has writ-
" ten, I should rejoice at it, and wish well to his suit;
" but for him, who never stirred beyond the walls,
" while there was an enemy on this side the Eu-
" phrates, to have such an honour decreed; and for
" me, whose arm inspired all their hopes and spirits in-
" to his, not to obtain the same, will be a disgrace to
" us; I say to us; joining you to myself: wherefore
" I am determined to push at all, and hope to obtain
" all *."

After the contemptible account which Cicero gives of Bibulus's conduct in Syria, it must appear strange to see him honoured with a supplication, and aspiring even to a triumph: but this was not for any thing that he himself had done, but for what his lieutenant Cassius had performed in his absence, against the Parthians, the success of the lieutenants being ascribed always to the auspices of the general, who reaped the reward and glory of it: and as the Parthians were the most dangerous enemies of the republic, and the more particularly dreaded at this time, for their late defeat of Crassus; so any advantage gained against them was sure to be well received at Rome, and repaid with all the honours that could reasonably be demanded.

* De triumpho, nulla me cupiditas unquam tenuit ante Bibuli impudentissimas litteras, quas amplissima supplicatio consecuta est. A quo si ea gesta sunt, quæ scripsit, gauderem et honori faverem. Nunc illum, qui pedem porta, quoad hostis cis Euphratem fuit, non extulerit, honore augeri, me, in cujus exercitu spem illius exercitus habuit, idem non assequi, dedecus est nostrum; nostrum, inquam, te conjungens. Itaque omnia experiar, et, ut spero, assequar. Ad Att. 7. 2.

A. Urb. 703. Cic. 57. Coss.—L. Æmilius Paullus. C. Claudius Marcellus.

Whenever any proconsul returned from his province, with pretensions to a triumph, his fasces, or ensigns of magistracy, were wreathed with laurel: with this equipage Cicero landed at Brundisium, on the twenty-fifth of November, where his wife Terentia arrived at the same moment to meet him; so that their first salutation was in the great square of the city. From Brundisium he marched forward by slow stages towards Rome, making it his business on the road, to confer with all his friends of both parties, who came out to salute him, and to learn their sentiments on the present state of affairs; from which he soon perceived, what of all things he most dreaded, an universal disposition to war. But as he foresaw the consequences of it more coolly and clearly than any of them, so his first resolution was to apply all his endeavours and authority to the mediation of a peace. He had not yet declared for either side; not that he was irresolute which of them to chuse, for he was determined within himself to follow Pompey; but the difficulty was, how to act in the mean time towards Cæsar, so as to avoid taking any part in the previous decrees which were prepared against him, "for abrogating his command, and obliging him to "disband his forces, on pain of being declared an e-"nemy:" here he wished to stand neuter a while, that he might act the mediator with the better grace and effect *.

* Brundisium venimus vii Kal. Decemb.—Terentia vero, quæ quidem eodem tempore ad portam Brundisinam venit, quo ego in portum, mihi obvia in foro fuit. Ibid.——

Mihi

A. Urb. 703. Cic. 57. Coss.—L. Æmilius Paullus. C. Claudius Marcellus.

In this disposition he had an interview with Pompey on the tenth of December, of which he gives the following account: "We were together," says he, "about two hours. He seemed to be extremely pleased at my return; he exhorted me to demand a triumph, promised to do his part in it, advised me not "to appear in the senate before I had obtained it, "lest I should disgust any of the tribunes, by declaring my mind: in a word, nothing could be more "obliging than his whole discourse on this subject. "But as to public affairs, he talked in such a strain as "if a war was inevitable, without giving the least "hopes of an accommodation. He said that he had "long perceived Cæsar to be alienated from him, but "had received a very late instance of it; for that Hirtius came from Cæsar a few days before, and did not "come to see him; and when Balbus promised to "bring Scipio an account of his business the next "morning before day, Hirtius was gone back again to "Cæsar in the night: this he takes for a clear proof "of Cæsar's resolution to break with him. In short, "I have no other comfort but in imagining that he, to "whom even his enemies have voted a second consulship, and fortune given the greatest power, will not "be so mad as to put all this to hazard: yet if he begins to rush on, I see many more things to be ap-

Mihi σκάφος unum erit, quod a Pompeio gubernabitur—dic M. Tulli ξύνθημα. Cn. Pompeio assentio—ib. 3.

Nunc incidio in discrimen ipsum,—dabunt operam, ut eliciant sententiam meam—tu autem de nostro statu cogitabis; primum quo artificio tueamur benevolentiam Cæsaris—ib. 1.

"prehended than I dare venture to commit to writ-"ing: at present I propose to be at Rome on the "third of January †."

There is one little circumstance frequently touched in Cicero's letters, which gave him a particular uneasiness in his present situation, viz. his owing a sum of money to Cæsar, which he imagined might draw some reproach upon him, since he thought it "dishonour-"able and indecent," he says, "to be a debtor to one "against whom we were acting in public affairs: yet "to pay it at that time would deprive him of a part "of the money which he had reserved for his tri-"umph *." He desires Atticus, however, very earnestly to see it paid, which was done, without doubt, accordingly, since we meet with no farther mention of it: it does not appear, nor is it easy to guess, for what occasion this debt was contracted, unless it was to supply the extraordinary expence of his buildings, after his return from exile, when he complained of being in a particular want of money, from that general dissipation of his fortunes.

Pompey, finding Cicero wholly bent on peace, contrived to have a second conference with him, before he reached the city, in hopes to allay his fears, and beat him off from that vain project of an accommodation, which might help to cool the zeal of his friends

† Ad Att. 7. 4.

* Illud tamen non desinam, dum adesse te putabo, de Cæsaris nomine rogare, ut confectum relinquas. Ib. 5. 6.

Mihi autem molestissimum est, quod solvendi sunt nummi Cæsari, et instrumentum triumphi eo conferendum. Est enim ἄμορφον, ἀντιπολιτευομένου χρεοφειλέτην esse.—Ib. 7. 8.

A. Urb. 703. Cic. 57. Coss.—L. Æmilius Paullus. C. Claudius Marcellus.

in the senate: he overtook him therefore at Lavernium, and came on with him to Formiæ, where they spent a whole afternoon in close conversation. Pompey strongly discouraged all thoughts of a pacification, declaring, "that there could be none but what "was treacherous and dangerous; and that if Cæsar "should disband his army, and take the consulship, "he would throw the republic into confusion: but he "was of opinion that, when he understood their pre-"parations against him, he would drop the consulship, "and hold fast his army: but if he was mad enough "to come forward, and act offensively, he held him in "utter contempt, from a confidence in his own troops, "and those of the republic. They had got with them "the copy of a speech which Antony, one of the new "tribunes, made to the people four days before: it "was a perpetual invective on Pompey's conduct, "from his first appearance in public, with great com-"plaints against the violent and arbitrary condemna-"tion of citizens, and the terror of his arms. After "reading it over together," "what think you," says "Pompey, "would Cæsar himself do, if in possession "of the republic, when this paultry, beggarly fellow, "his quæstor, dares to talk at this rate?" On the "whole, Pompey seemed not only not to desire, but "even to dread a peace *."

Cicero, however, would not still be driven from the hopes and pursuit of an accommodation: the more he observed the disposition of both parties, the more he

* Ib. 7. 8.

A. Urb. 703. Cic. 57. Coss.—L. Æmilius Paullus. C. Claudius Marcellus.

perceived the necessity of it: the honest, as they were called, were disunited among themselves: many of them dissatisfied with Pompey; all fierce and violent; and denouncing nothing but ruin to their adversaries; he clearly foresaw what he declared without scruple to his friends, "that which side soever got the better, "the war must necessarily end in a tyranny; the on-"ly difference was, that if their enemies conquered, "they should be proscribed, if their friends, be slaves." Though he had an abhorrence, therefore, of Cæsar's cause, yet his advice was to grant him his own terms, rather than try the experiment of arms, "and prefer "the most unjust conditions to the justest war: since, "after they had been arming him against themselves "for ten years past, it was too late to think of fight-"ing, when they had made him too strong for them †."

A. Urb. 704. Cic. 58. Coss.—C. Claudius Marcellus. L. Corn. Lentulus Crus.

THIS was the sum of his thoughts and counsels, when he arrived at Rome on the fourth of January;

† De repub. quotidiè magis timeo. Non enim boni, ut putant, consentiunt. Quos ego equites Romanos, quos senatores vidi, qui acerrime tum cætera, tum hoc iter Pompeii vituperarent. Pace opus est, ex victoria cum multa mala, tum certe tyrannus existet.—Ib. 7. 5.

Ut si victus eris, proscribare; si viceris, tamen servias. Ib. 7. 7.

Ad pacem hortari non desino, quæ vel injusta utilior est, quam justissimum bellum.—Ib. 7. 14.

Mallem tantas ei vires non dedisset, quam nunc tam valenti resisteret. Ib. 7. 3.

Nisi forte hæc illi tum arma dedimus, ut nunc cum bene parato pugnaremus. Ib. 7. 6.

A. Urb. 704. Cic. 58. Coss.—C Claudius Marcellus. C. Corn. Lentulus Crus.

where he found the two new consuls entirely devoted to Pompey's interests. On his approach towards the city, great multitudes came out to meet him with all possible demonstrations of honour: his last stage was from Pompey's villa near Alba, because his own at Tusculum lay out of the great road, and was not commodious for a public entry: on his arrival, as he says, he fell into the very flame of civil discord, and found the war in effect proclaimed *: for the senate, at Scipio's motion, had just voted a decree, "that Cæsar "should dismiss his army by a certain day, or be de- "clared an enemy; and when M. Antony and Q. "Cassius, two of the tribunes, opposed their negative "to it," as they had done to every decree proposed against Cæsar, and could not be persuaded by the entreaties of their friends, to give way to the authority of the senate, they proceeded to that vote, which was the last resort in cases of extremity, "that the consuls, "prætors, tribunes, and all who were about the city "with proconsular power, should take care that the "republic received no detriment." As this was supposed to arm the magistrates with an absolute power, to treat all men as they pleased, whom they judged to be enemies, so the two tribunes, together with Curio, immediately withdrew themselves upon it, and fled in disguise to Cæsar's camp, on pretence of danger and

* Ego ad urbem accessi prid. non. Jan. obviam mihi sic est proditum, ut nihil possit fieri ornatius. Sed incidi in ipsam flammam civilis discordiæ vel potius belli——Ep. Fam. 16. 11.

Ego in Tusculanum nihil hoc tempore. Devium est τοῖς ἀπαντῶσι, &c. ad Att. 7. 5.

A. Urb. 704. Cic. 58. Cos.—C. Claudius Marcellus. L. Corn. Lentulus Crus.

violence to their persons, though none was yet offered or designed to them †.

M. ANTONY, who now began to make a figure in the affairs of Rome, was of an ancient and noble extraction; the grandson of that celebrated statesman and orator, who lost his life in the massacres of Marius and Cinna: his father, as it is already related, had been honoured with one of the most important commissions of the republic; but, after an inglorious discharge of it, died with the character of a corrupt, oppressive, and rapacious commander. The son, trained in the discipline of such a parent, whom he lost when he was very young, launched out at once into all the excess of riot and debauchery, and wasted his whole patrimony before he had put on the manly gown; shewing himself to be the genuine son of that father, who was born, as Sallust says, to squander money, without ever employing a thought on business, till a present necessity urged him. His comely person, lively wit, insinuating address, made young Curio infinitely fond of him; so that, in spight of the commands of a severe father, who had often turned Antony out of doors, and forbidden him his house, he could not be prevailed with to forsake his company; but supplied him with money for his frolics and amours, till he had involved himself on his account in

† Antonius quidem noster et Q. Cassius, nulla vi expulsi, ad Cæsarem cum Curione profecti erant; postea quam senatus consulibus, prætoribus, tribunis plebis et nobis, qui proconsules sumus, negotium dederat, ut curaremus, ne quid resp. detrimenti caperet—— Ep. Fam. 16. 11.

A. Urb. 704. Cic. 52. Coss.—C. Claudius Marcellus. L. Corn. Lentulus Crus.

a debt of fifty thousand pounds. This greatly afflicted old Curio; and Cicero was called in to heal the distress of the family, whom the son entreated, with tears in his eyes, to intercede for Antony, as well as for himself, and not suffer them to be parted: but Cicero having prevailed with the father to make his son easy, by discharging his debts, advised him to insist upon it as a condition, and to enforce it by his paternal power, that he should have no farther commerce with Antony ‡. This laid the foundation of an early aversion in Antony to Cicero, encreased still by the perpetual course of Antony's life, which fortune happened to throw among Cicero's inveterate enemies: for, by the second marriage of his mother, he became son-in-law to that Lentulus, who was put to death for conspiring with Catiline, by whom he was initiated into all the cabals of a traitorous faction, and infected with principles pernicious to the liberty of Rome. To revenge the death of this father, he attached himself to Clodius, and, during his tribunate, was one of the ministers of all his violences; yet was detected at the

‡ Tenesne memoria prætextatum te decoxisse?——nemo unquam puer emptus libidinis causa tam fuit in domini potestate, quam tu in Curionis. Quoties te pater ejus domo suo ejecit?——scisne me de rebus mihi notissimis dicere? recordare tempus illud, cum pater Curio mœrens jacebat in lecto; filius se ad pedes meos prosternens, lacrymans te mihi commendabat, orabat, ut te contra patrem suum, si H. S. sexagies peteret defenderem: tantum enim se pro te intercessisse: ipse autem amore ardens confirmabat, quod desiderium tui discidii ferre non posset ——quo ego tempore tanta mala florentissimæ familiæ sedavi vel potius sustuli: patri persuasi, ut æs alienum filii dissolverit, &c, (Philip. 2. 18.) M. Antonius, perdundæ pecuniæ genitus, vacuusque curis, nisi instantibus. Sallust. Histor. Fragm. l. iii.

A. Urb. 704. Cic. 58. Coss.—C. Claudius Marcellus. L. Corn. Lentulus Cru.

same time in some criminal intrigue in his family, injurious to the honour of his patron *. From this education in the city, he went abroad to learn the art of war under Gabinius, the most profligate of all generals; who gave him the command of his horse in Syria, where he signalized his courage in the restoration of king Ptolemy, and acquired the first taste of martial glory in an expedition undertaken against the laws and religion of his country †. From Egypt, instead of coming home, where his debts would not suffer him to be easy, he went to Cæsar into Gaul, the sure refuge of all the needy, the desperate, and the audacious: and, after some stay in that province, being furnished with money and credit by Cæsar, he returned to Rome to sue for the quætorship ‡. Cæsar recommended him in a pressing manner to Cicero, "entreating him to accept Antony's submission, and "pardon him for what was past, and to assist him in "his present suit: with which Cicero readily compli-"ed," and obliged Antony so highly by it, that he declared war presently against Clodius, "whom he attacked with great fierceness in the forum, and would "certainly have killed, if he had not found means to "hide himself under some stairs." Antony openly "gave out, that he owed all this to Cicero's generosi-

* Te domi P. Lentuli educatum——(Phil. 2. 7.) Intimus erat in tribunatu Clodio——ejus omnium incendiorum fax—cujus etiam domi quiddam jam tum molitus est, &c. ib. 19.

† Inde iter Alexandriam, contra senatus auctoritatem, contra tempub. et religiones: sed habebat ducem Gabinium, &c. ib.

‡ Prius in ultimam Galliam ex Ægypto quam domum—venisti è Gallia ad quæsturam petendam.—ib.—vid. Plutar. in Anton.

A. Urb. 704. Cic. 58. Coss.—C. Claudius Marcellus. L. Corn. Lentulus Crus.

" ty, to whom he could never make amends for for-
" mer injuries, but by the destruction of his enemy
" Clodius *." Being chosen quæstor, he went back immediately to Cæsar, without expecting his lot, or a decree of the senate, to appoint him his province: where, though he had all imaginable opportunities of acquiring money, yet by squandering, as fast as he got it, he came a second time empty and beggarly to Rome, to put in for the tribunate; in which office, after the example of his friend Curio, having sold himself to Cæsar, he was, as Cicero says, as much the cause of the ensuing war, as Helen was of that of Troy †.

It is certain, at least, that Antony's flight gave the immediate pretext to it, as Cicero had foretold: " Cæ-
" sar," says he, " will betake himself to arms, either
" for our want of preparation, or if no regard be had
" to him at the election of consuls; but especially, if
" any tribune, obstructing the deliberations of the se-
" nate, or exciting the people to sedition, should hap-
" pen to be censured or over-ruled, or taken off, or ex-
" pelled, or, pretending to be expelled, run away to

* Acceperam jam ante Cæsaris literas, ut mihi satisfieri paterer a te—postea custoditus sum a te, tu a me observatus tu petitione quæsturæ, quo quidem tempore P. Clodium—in foro es conatus occidere—ita prædicabas, te non existimare nisi illum interfecisses, unquam mihi pro tuis in me injuriis satis esse facturum—ib. 20.

Cum se ille fugiens in scalarum tenebras abdidisset, &c. pro Mil. 15.

† Deinde sine senatus consulto, sine sorte, sine lege ad Cæsarem cucurristi. Id enim unum in terris egestatis, æris alieni, nequitiæ, perditis vitæ rationibus perfugium esse ducebas—advolasti egens ad tribunatum, ut in eo magistratu, si posses, viri tui similis esses—ut Helena Trojanis, sic. iste huic reipub. causa belli, &c.——Phil. 2. 21, 22.

A. Urb. 704. Cic. 58. Cos.—C. Claudius Marcellus. L. Corn. Lentulus Crus.

"him *." In the same letter, he gives a short but true state of the merit of his cause: "What," says he, "can be more impudent? You have held your "government ten years, not granted to you by the "senate, but extorted by violence and faction: the "full term is expired, not of the law, but of your li- "centious will: but, allow it to be a law; it is now "decreed that you must have a successor: you refuse, "and say, have some regard to me: do you first shew "your regard for us: will you pretend to keep an "army longer than the people ordered, and contrary "to the will of the senate †?" but Cæsar's strength lay not in the goodness of his cause, but of his troops ‡; a considerable part of which he was now drawing together towards the confines of Italy, to be ready to enter into action at any warning: the flight of the tribunes gave him a plausible handle to begin, and seemed to sanctify his attempt; but "his real motive," says Plutarch, "was the same that animated "Cyrus and Alexander before him to disturb the peace "of mankind; the unquenchable thirst of empire, "and the wild ambition of being the greatest man in "the world, which was not possible, till Pompey was "first destroyed §." Laying hold, therefore, of the

* Aut addita causa, si forte tribunus pleb. senatum impediens, aut populum incitans, notatus, aut senatus consulto circumscriptus, aut sublatus aut expulsus sit, dicensve se expulsum ad se confugerit. Ad Att. 7. 9.

† Ibd. it. Ep. Fam. 16. 11.

‡ Alterius ducis causa melior videbatur, alterius erat firmior. Hic omnia speciosa, illic valentia. Pompeium senatus auctoritas, Cæsarem militum armavit fiducia. Vell. Pat. 2. 49.

§ Plutar. in Anton.

A. Urb. 704. Cic. 58. Coss.—C. Claudius Marcellus. L. Corn. Lentulus Crus.

occasion, he presently passed the Rubicon, which was the boundary of his province on that side of Italy, and marching forward in an hostile manner, possessed himself, without resistance, of the next great towns in his way, Arminium, Pisaurum, Ancona, Aretium ||, &c.

In this confused and disordered state of the city, Cicero's friends were soliciting the decree of his triumph, to which the whole senate signified their ready consent: but "the consul Lentulus, to make the favour "more particularly his own, desired that it might be de- "ferred for a while, till the public affairs were better "settled, giving his word, that he would then be the "mover of it himself *." But Cæsar's sudden march towards Rome put an end to all farther thoughts of it, and struck the senate with such a panic, that, as if he had been already at the gates, they resolved presently to quit the city, and retreat towards the southern parts of Italy. All the principal senators had particular districts assigned to their care, to be provided with troops, and all materials of defence against Cæsar. Cicero had Capua, with the inspection of the sea-coast from Formiæ; he would not accept any

|| An ille id faciat, quod paulo ante decretum est, ut exercitum citra Rubiconem, qui finis est Galliæ, educeret? Philip. 6. 3.

Itaque cum Cæsar, amentia quadam raperetur, et Arminium, Pisaurum, Anconam, Arretium occupavisset, urbem reliquimus. Ep. Fam. 16. 12.

* Nobis tamen inter has turbas senatus frequens flagitavit triumphum: sed Lentulus consul, quo majus suum beneficium faceret, simul atque expedisset quæ essent necessaria de reip. dixit se relaturum. Ep. Fam. 16. 11.

A. Urb. 704. Cic. 58. Coss.—C. Claudius Marcellus. L. Corn. Lentulus Crus.

greater charge, for the sake of preserving his authority in the task of mediating a peace †; and, for the same reason, when he perceived his new province wholly unprovided against an enemy, and that it was impossible to hold Capua without a strong garrison, he resigned his employment, and chose not to act at all ‡.

Capua had always been the common seminary or place of educating Gladiators for the great men of Rome; where Cæsar had a famous school of them at this time, which he had long maintained under the best masters for the occasions of his public shews in the city; and, as they were very numerous and well furnished with arms, there was reason to apprehend that they would break out, and make some attempt in favour of their master, which might have been of dangerous consequence in the present circumstances of the republic; so that Pompey thought it necessary

† Ego negotio præsum non turbulento: vult enim me Pompeius esse, quem tota hæc Compana et maritima ora habeat ἐπίσκοπον, ad quem delectus et summa negotii referatur. Ad Att. 7. 11.

Ego adhuc oræ maritimæ præsum a Formiis. Nullum majus negotium suscipere volui, quo plus apud illum meæ litteræ cohortationisque ad pacem valerent. Ep. Fam. 16. 12.

‡ Nam certe neque tum peccavi, cum imparatam jam Capuam, non solum ignaviæ delectus, sed etiam perfidiæ suspicionem fugiens, accipere nolui. Ad Att. 8. 12.

Quod tibi ostenderam, cum a me Capuam rejiciebam: quod feci non vitandi oneris causa, sed quod videbam teneri illam urbem sine exercitu non posse. Ep. Cic. ad Pomp. Ad Att. 8. 11.

As Cicero, when proconsul of Cilicia, often mentions the dioceses that were annexed to his government, (Ep. Fam. 13. 67.) so in this command of Capua he calls himself the *Episcopus* of the Campanian coast; which shews, that these names, which were appropriated afterwards in the Christian church to characters and powers ecclesiastical, carried with them in their original use, the notion of a real authority and jurisdiction.

A. Urb. 704. Cic. 58. Coss.—C. Claudius Marcellus. L. Cornelius Lentulus Crus.

to take them out of their school, and distribute them among the principal inhabitants of the place, assigning two to each master of a family, by which he secured them from doing any mischief *.

While the Pompeian party was under no small dejection on account of Pompey's quitting the city, and retreating from the approach of Cæsar, T. Labienus, one of the chief commanders on the other side, deserted Cæsar, and came over to them, which added some new life to their cause, and raised an expectation, that many more would follow his example. Labienus had eminently distinguished himself in the Gallic war, where, next to Cæsar himself, he had born the principal part; and, by Cæsar's favour, had raised an immense fortune: so that he was much caressed, and carried about every where by Pompey, who promised himself great service from his fame and experience, and especially from his credit in Cæsar's army, and the knowledge of all his counsels: but his account of things, like that of all deserters, was accommodated rather to please, than to serve his new friends; representing the weakness of Cæsar's troops, their aversion to his present designs, the disaffection of the two Gauls, and disposition to revolt, the contrary of all which was found to be true in the experiment: and as he came to them single, without bringing with him any of those troops with which he had acquired

* Gladiatores Cæsaris, qui Capuæ sunt—sane commodo Pompeius distribuit, binos singulis patribus familiarum. Scutorum id iudo 100 fuerunt eruptionem facturi fuisse dicebantur—sane multum in eo reip. provisum est. Ad Att, 7. 14.

A. Urb. 704. Cic. 58. Coss.—C. Claudius Marcellus. L. Corn. Lentulus Cru.

his reputation, so his desertion had no other effect than to ruin his own fortunes, without doing any service to Pompey †.

But what gave a much better prospect to all honest men, was the proposal of an accommodation, which came about this time from Cæsar; who, while he was pushing on the war with incredible vigour, talked of nothing but peace, and endeavoured particularly to persuade Cicero, "that he had no other view than to "secure himself from the insults of his enemies, and "yield the first rank in the state to Pompey *." The conditions were, "that Pompey should go to his "government of Spain, that his new levies should be "dismissed, and his garrisons withdrawn, and that Cæ-"sar should deliver up his provinces, the farther Gaul "to Domitius, the hither to Considius, and sue for the "consulship in person, without requiring the privilege "of absence." These terms were readily embraced

† Maximam autem plagam accepit, quod is, qui summam auctoritatem in illius exercitu habebat, T. Labienus socius sceleris esse noluit: reliquit illum, et nobiscum est: multique idem facturi dicuntur. Ep. fam. 16. 12.

Aliquantum animi videtur attulisse nobis Labienus—ad Att. 7. 13.

Labienum secum habet (Pompeius) non dubitantem de imbecillitate Cæsaris copiarum: cujus adventu Cnæus noster multo animi plus habet. Ib. 8. 2.

——fortis in armis
Cæsaris Labienus erat: nunc transfuga vilis——
Lucan. 5. 345.

* Balbus major ad me scribit, nihil malle Cæsarem, quam principe Pompeio, sine metu vivere. Tu, puto, hæc credis. Ad Att. 8. 9.

A. Urb. 704. Cic. 58. Coss.—C. Claudius Marcellus. L. Corn. Lentulus Crus.

in a grand council of the chiefs at Capua, and young L. Cæsar, who brought them, was sent back with letters from Pompey, and the addition only of one preliminary article, "that Cæsar in the mean while should "récal his troops from the towns, which he had seiz-"ed beyond his own jurisdiction, so that the senate "might return to Rome, and settle the whole affair "with honour and freedom ‡." Cicero was present at this council, of which he gave an account to Atticus; "I came to Capua," (says he,) "yesterday, the "twenty-sixth of January, where I met the consuls, "and many of our order: they all wished that Cæsar "would stand to his conditions, and withdraw his "troops: Favonius alone was against all conditions "imposed by Cæsar, but was little regarded by the "council: for Cato himself would now rather live a "slave, than fight; and declares, that if Cæsar recall "his garrisons, he will attend the senate, when the "conditions come to be settled, and not go to Sicily, "where his service is more necessary, which I am a-"fraid will be of ill consequence:—there is a strange "variety in our sentiments; the greatest part are of "opinion, that Cæsar will not stand to his terms, and

‡ Feruntur omnino conditiones ab illo, ut Pompeius eat in Hispaniam; dilectus, qui sunt habiti, et præsidia nostra dimittantur: se ulteriorem Galliam Domitio, citeriorem Considio Nonîano—traditurum. Ad consulatus petitionem se venturum: neque se jam velle, absente se, rationem sui haberi. Ep. fam. 16. 12. ad Att. 7. 14.

Accepimus conditiones; sed ita, ut removeat præsidia ex iis locis quæ occupavit, ut sine metu de iis ipsis conditionibus Romæ senatus haberi possit. Ibid.

A. Urb. 704. Cic. 58. Coss.—C. Claudius Marcellus. L. Corn. Lentulus Crus.

" that these offers are made only to hinder our prepa-
" rations: but I am apt to think that he will with-
" draw his troops: for he gets the better of us by be-
" ing made consul, and with less iniquity, than in
" the way which he is now pursuing; and we cannot
" possibly come off without some loss; for we are
" scandalously unprovided both with soldiers, and with
" money, since all that which was either private in the
" city, or public in the treasury, is left a prey to
" him *."

During the suspence of this treaty, and the expectation of Cæsar's answer, Cicero began to conceive some hopes that both sides were relenting, and disposed to make up the quarrel; Cæsar, from a reflection on his rashness, and the senate, on their want of preparation: but he still suspected Cæsar, and the sending a message so important by a person so insignificant as young Lucius Cæsar, looked, (he says,) as if he had done it by way of contempt, or with a view to disclaim it, especially when, after offering conditions, which were likely to be accepted, he would not sit still to wait an answer, but continued his march with the same diligence, and in the same hostile manner, as before †. His suspicions proved true; for by let-

* Ad Att. 7. 15.

† Spero in præsentia pacem nos habere. Nam et illum furoris, et hunc nostrum copiarum suppœnitet. Ibid.

Tamen vereor ut his ipsis (Cæsar) contentus sit. Nam cum is- mandata dedisset L. Cæsari, debuit esse paulo quietior, dum ...onsa referrentur. Ib. 7. 17.

Cæsarem quidem, L. Cæsare cum mandatis de pace misso, te- ...en aiunt acerrime loca occupare—ib. 18.

A. Urb. 704. Cic. 58. Coss.—C. Claudius Marcellus. L. Corn. Lentulus Crus.

ters, which came soon after from Furnius and Curio, he perceived, that they made a mere jest of the embassy †.

It seems very evident, that Cæsar had no real thoughts of peace, by his paying no regard to Pompey's answer, and the trifling reasons which he gave for slighting it *: but he had a double view in offering those conditions; for, by Pompey's rejecting them, as there was reason to expect from his known aversion to any treaty, he hoped to load him with the odium of the war; or, by his embracing them, to slacken his preparations, and retard his design of leaving Italy; whilst he himself, in the mean time, by following him with a celerity that amazed every body †, might chance to come up with him before he could embark, and give a decisive blow to the war; from which he had nothing to apprehend, but its being drawn into length. "I now plainly see," says Cicero, "though "later indeed than I could have wished, on account of "the assurances given me by Balbus, that he aims at

L. Cæsarem vidi—ut id ipsum mihi ille videatur irridendi causa fecisse, qui tantis de rebus huic mandata dederit, nisi forte non dedit et hic sermone aliquo arrepto pro mandatis abusus est—ib. 13.

† Accepi literas tuas, Philotimi, Furnii, Curionis ad Furnium, quibus irridet L. Cæsaris legationem——ib. 19.

* Cæs. Comment. de Bell. civ. l. 1.

† O celeritatem incredibilem!—ad Att. 7. 22. Cicero calls him a monster of vigilance and celerity——(ib. 8. 9.) for, from his passage of the Rubicon, though he was forced to take in all the great towns on his road, and spent seven days before Corfinium, yet in less than two months he marched through the whole length of Italy, and came before the gates of Brundisium before Pompey could embark on the 9th of March. Ad Att. 9. 13.

A. Urb. 704. Cic. 58. Coss.—C. Claudius Marcellus. L. Corn. Lentulus Crus.

" nothing else, nor has ever aimed at any thing from " the beginning, but Pompey's life ‡."

If we consider this famous passage of the Rubicon, abstractedly from the event, it seems to have been so hazardous and desperate, that Pompey might reasonably contemn the thought of it, as of an attempt too rash for any prudent man to venture upon. If Cæsar's view indeed had been to possess himself only of Italy, there could have been no difficulty in it: his army was undoubtedly the best which was then in the world; flushed with victory, animated with zeal for the person of their general, and an over-match for any which could be brought against it into the field: but this single army was all that he had to trust to; he had no resource: the loss of one battle was certain ruin to him; and yet he must necessarily run the risk of many before he could gain his end: for the whole empire was armed against him; every province offered a fresh enemy, and a fresh field of action, where he was like to be exposed to the same danger as on the plains of Pharsalia. But above all, his enemies were masters of the sea, so that he could not transport his forces abroad without the hazard of their being destroyed by a superior fleet, or of being starved at land by the difficulty of conveying supplies and provisions to them: Pompey relied chiefly on this single circumstance, and was persuaded, that it must necessarily determine the

‡ Intelligo serius equidem quam vellem, propter epistolas sermonesque Balbi, sed video plane, nihil aliud agi, nihil actum ab initio, quam ut hunc occideret. Ad Att. 9. 5.

A. Urb. 704. Cic. 58. Cons.—C. Claudius Marcellus. L. Corn. Lentulus Crus.

war in his favour ‖ : so that it seems surprizing, how such a superiority of advantage, in the hands of so great a commander, could possibly fail of success ; and we must admire rather the fortune, than the conduct of Cæsar, for carrying him safe through all these difficulties to the possession of the empire.

Cicero seldom speaks of his attempt, but as a kind of madness *, and seemed to retain some hopes to the last, that he would not persist in it : the same imagination made Pompey and the senate so resolute to defy, when they were in no condition to oppose him. Cæsar, on the other hand, might probably imagine, that their stiffness proceeded from a vain conceit of their strength, which would induce them to venture a battle with him in Italy ; in which case he was sure enough to beat them : so that both sides were drawn farther perhaps than they intended, by mistaking each other's views. Cæsar, I say, might well apprehend that they designed to try their strength with him in Italy : for that was the constant persuasion of the whole party, who thought it the best scheme which could be pursued : Pompey humoured them in it, and always talked big to keep up their spirits ; and though he saw from the first the necessity of quitting Italy, yet he kept the secret to himself, and wrote word at the same time to Cicero, that he should have a firm army in a few days, with which he would march a-

‖ Existimat, (Pompeius) qui mare teneat, eum necesse rerum potiri—itaque navalis apparatus ei semper antiquissima cura fuit. Ib. 10. 8.

* Cum Cæsar amentia quadam raperetur—Ep. fam. 16. 12.

A. Urb. 704. Cic. 58. Coss.—C. Claudius Marcellus. L. Corn. Lentulus Crus.

gainst Cæsar into Picenum, so as to give them an opportunity of returning to the city †. The plan of the war, as it was commonly understood, was to possess themselves of the principal posts of Italy, and act chiefly on the defensive, in order to distress Cæsar by their different armies, cut off his opportunities of forage, hinder his access to Rome, and hold him continually employed, till the veteran army from Spain, under Pompey's lieutenants, Afranius, Petreius, and Varro, could come up to finish his overthrow ‡. This was the notion which the senate entertained of the war; they never conceived it possible that Pompey should submit to the disgrace of flying before Cæsar, and giving up Italy a prey to his enemy: in this confidence Domitius, with a very considerable force, and some of the principal senators, threw himself into Corfinium, a strong town at the foot of the Apennine, on the Adriatic side, where he proposed to make a stand against Cæsar, and stop the progress of his march; but

† Omnes nos ἀπροσφανίστους, expertes sui tanti et tam inusitati consilii relinquebat. Ad Att. 8. 8.

Pompeius—ad me scribit, paucis diebus se firmum exercitum habiturum, spemque affert, si in Picenum agrum ipse venerit, nos Romam redituros esse. Ib. 7. 16.

‡ Suscepto autem bello, aut tenenda sit urbs, aut ea relicta, ille commeatu et reliquis copiis intercludendus—ad Att. 7. 9.

Sin autem ille suis conditionibus stare noluerit, bellum paratum est:—tantummodo ut eum intercludamus, ne ad urbem possit accedere: quod sperabamus fieri posse: dilectus enim magnos habebamus—ex Hispaniaque sex legiones et magna auxilia, Afranio et Petreio ducibus, habet a tergo. Videtur, si insaniet, posse opprimi, modo ut urbe salva—Ep. fam. 16. 12.

Summa autem spes Afranium cum magnis copiis adventare—ad Att. 8. 3.

A. Urb. 704. Cic. 58. Coss—C. Claudius Marcellus. L. Corn. Lentulus Crus.

he lost all his troops in the attempt, to the number of three legions, for want of knowing Pompey's secret. Pompey indeed, when he saw what Domitius intended, pressed him earnestly, by several letters, to come away and join with him, telling him, "that it was impossible to make any opposition to Cæsar, till their "whole forces were united; and that as to himself, he "had with him only the two legions, which were re-"called from Cæsar, and were not to be trusted a-"gainst him; and if Domitius should entangle him-"self in Corfinium, so as to be precluded by Cæsar "from a retreat, that he could not come to his relief "with so weak an army, and bad him therefore not to "be surprized to hear of his retiring, if Cæsar should "persist to march towards him ‖:" yet Domitius, prepossessed with the opinion, that Italy was to be the seat of the war, and that Pompey would never suffer so good a body of troops, and so many of his best friends to be lost, would not quit the advantageous post of Corfinium, but depended still on being relieved; and when he was actually besieged, sent Pompey word, how easily Cæsar might be intercepted between their two armies *.

‖ Nos disjecta manu pares adversariis esse non possumus.—— Quamobrem nolito commoveri, si audieris me regredi, si forte Cæsar ad me veniet,—etiam atque etiam te hortor, ut cum omni copia quam primum ad me venias.—vid. Epist. Pomp. ad Domit. ad Att. 8. 12.

* Domitius ad Pompeium—mittit, qui petant atque orent, ut sibi subveniat: Cæsarem duobus exercitibus, et locorum angustiis intercludi posse, frumentoque prohiberi, &c.

Cæs. Comment. de Bell. civ. l. i.

A. Urb. 704. Cic. 58. Cos.—C. Claudius Marcellus. L. Corn. Lentulus Crus.

Cicero was as much disappointed as any of the rest; he had never dreamt of their being obliged to quit Italy, till by Pompey's motions he perceived at last his intentions; of which he speaks with great severity, in several of his letters, and begs Atticus's advice upon that new face of their affairs; and, to enable Atticus to give it the more clearly, he explains to him in short what occurred to his own mind on the one side and the other. "The great obligations," says he, "which I "am under to Pompey, and my particular friendship "with him, as well as the cause of the republic itself, "seem to persuade me, that I ought to join my coun- "sels and fortunes with his. Besides, If I stay behind, "and desert that band of the best and most eminent "citizens, I must fall under the power of a single per- "son, who gives me many proofs indeed of being my "friend, and whom, as you know, I had long ago tak- "en care to make such from a suspicion of this very "storm, which now hangs over us; yet it should be "well considered, both how far I may venture to trust "him, and supposing it clear, that I may trust him, "whether it be consistent with the character of a firm "and honest citizen to continue in that city, in which "he has born the greatest honours, and performed the "greatest acts, and where he is now invested with the "most honourable priesthood, when it is to be attended "with some danger, and perhaps with some disgrace, if "Pompey should ever restore the republic. These are "the difficulties on the one side; let us see what there "are on the other: Nothing has hitherto been done "by our Pompey, either with prudence or courage;

A. Urb. 704. Cic. 58. Coss.—C. Claudius Marcellus. L. Corn. Lentulus Crus.

"I may add also nothing but what was contrary to "my advice and authority: I will omit those old "stories; how he first nursed, raised and armed this "man against the republic; how he supported him in "carrying his laws by violence, and without regard "to the auspices; how he added the farther Gaul "to his government, made himself his son-in-law, as- "sisted as augur in the adoption of Clodius, was more "zealous to restore me, than to prevent my being ex- "pelled; enlarged the term of Cæsar's command, "served him in all his affairs in his absence, nay, in "his third consulship, after he began to espouse the "interests of the republic, how he insisted, that the "ten tribunes should jointly propose a law to dis- "pense with his absence in suing for the consulship, "which he confirmed afterwards by a law of his own, "and opposed the consul Marcellus, when he moved "to put an end to his government on the first of "March: but to omit, I say, all this, what can be "more dishonourable, or shew a greater want of con- "duct than this retreat, or rather shameful flight from "the city? what conditions were not preferable to "the necessity of abandoning our country? the con- "ditions, I confess, were bad; yet what can be worse "than this? but Pompey, you'll say, will recover the "republic: when? or what preparation is there for "it? is not all Picenum lost? is not the way left open "to the city? is not all our treasure both public and "private given up to the enemy? in a word, there is "no party, no forces, no place of rendezvous for the "friends of the republic to resort to: Apulia is chosen

A. Urb. 704. Cic. 58. Coss.—C. Claudius Marcellus. L. Corn. Lentulus Crus.

" for our retreat; the weakest and remotest part of " Italy, which implies nothing but despair, and a de- " sign of flying by the opportunity of the sea, &c. *. " In another letter, there is but one thing wanting," says he, " to complete our friend's disgrace; his fail- " ing to succour Domitius: no body doubts but that " he will come to his relief; yet I am not of that " mind. Will he then desert such a citizen, and the " rest, whom you know to be with him? especially " when he has thirty cohorts in the town: yes, unless " all things deceive me, he will desert him: he is " strangely frightened; means nothing but to fly; " yet you, for I perceive what your opinion is, think " that I ought to follow this man. For my part, I " easily know whom I ought to fly, not whom " I ought to follow. As to that saying of mine, " which you extol, and think worthy to be cele- " brated, that I had rather be conquered with Pom- " pey, than conquer with Cæsar; it is true, I still " say so; but with such a Pompey as he then " was, or as I took him to be: but as for this man, " who runs away, before he knows from whom, or " whither; who has betrayed us and ours, given up " his country, and is now leaving Italy; if I had ra- " ther be conquered with him, the thing is over, I am " conquered, &c †."

There was a notion, in the mean while, that universally prevailed through Italy, of Cæsar's cruel and revengeful temper, from which horrible effects were apprehended: Cicero himself was strongly possessed

* Ad Att. 8. 5. † Ad Att. 8. 7.

A. Urb. 704. Cic. 58. Coss.—C. Claudius Marcellus. L. Corn. Lentulus Crus.

with it, as appears from many of his letters, where he seems to take it for granted that he would be a second Phalaris, not a Pisistratus; a bloody, not a gentle tyrant. This he inferred from the violence of his past life; the nature of his present enterprise; and, above all, from the character of his friends and followers; who were, generally speaking, a needy, profligate, audacious crew; prepared for every thing that was desperate *. It was affirmed, likewise, with great confidence, that he had openly declared, that he was now coming to revenge the deaths of Cn. Carbo, M. Brutus, and all the other Marian chiefs, whom Pompey, when acting under Sylla, had cruelly put to death for their opposition to the Syllan cause †. But there was no real ground for any of these suspicions: for Cæsar, who thought tyranny, as Cicero says, the greatest of goddesses, and whose sole view it had been thro' life to bring his affairs to this crisis, and to make a bold push for empire, had, from the observation of past times, and the fate of former tyrants, laid it down for a maxim, that clemency in victory was the best means of securing the stability of it ‡. Upon the surrender

* Istum cujus φαλαρισμὸν times, omnia teterrime facturum puto. Ad Att. 7. 12.

Incertum est Phalarimne an Pisistratum sit imitaturus. Ib. 20.

Nam cædem video si vicerit—et regnum non modo Romano homini sed ne Persæ quidem tolerabile. Ib. 10. 8.

Qui hic potest se gerere non perdite? vita, mores ante facta, ratio suscepti negotii, socii. Ib. 9. 2. it. 9. 19.

† Atque eum loqui quidam αὐθαδίως narrabant; Cn. Carbonis, M. Bruti se pœnas persequi, &c. Ad Att. 9. 14.

‡ Τὴν θεῶν μεγίστην ὡς ἔχει τυραννίδα. Ad Att. 7. 11.

Tentemus

A. Urb. 704. Cic. 58. Coss—C. Claudius Marcellus. L. Corn. Lentulus Crus.

therefore of Corfinium, where he had the first opportunity of giving a public specimen of himself, he shewed a noble example of moderation, by the generous dismission of Domitius, and all the other senators who fell into his hands; among whom was Lentulus Spinther, Cicero's particular friend *. This made a great turn in his favour, by easing people of the terrors which they had before conceived of him, and seemed to confirm what he affected every where to give out, that he sought nothing by the war but the security of his person and dignity. Pompey, on the other hand, appeared every day more and more despicable, by flying before an enemy, whom his pride and perverseness was said to have driven to the necessity of taking arms—"Tell me, I beg of you," says Cicero, "what can be "more wretched, than for the one to be gathering ap-"plause from the worst of causes, the other giving offence "in the best? the one to be reckoned the preserver of "his enemies, the other the deserter of his friends? "and, in truth, though I have all the affection which "I ought to have for our friend Cnæus, yet I cannot "excuse his not coming to the relief of such men: "for if he was afraid to do it, what can be more pusil-"lanimity? or if, as some think, he thought to make his "cause the more popular by their destruction, what

Tentemus hoc modo, si possumus, omnium voluntates recuperare, et diuturna victoria uti: quoniam reliqui credulitate odium effugere non potuerunt, neq; victoriam diutius tenere, præter unum L. Syllam, quem imitaturus non sum. Hæc nova sit ratio vincendi; ut misericordia et liberalitate nos muniamus. Ep. Cæsaris ad Opp. Att. 9. 7.

* Cæs. Comment. l. i. Plutar. in Cæs.

A. Urb. 704. Cic. 58. Cos.—C. Claudius Marcellus. L. Corn. Lentulus Crus.

"can be more unjust *?" &c. From this first experiment of Cæsar's clemency, Cicero took occasion to send him a letter of compliment, and to thank him particularly for his generous treatment of Lentulus, who, when consul, had been the chief author of his restoration; to which Cæsar returned the following answer:

CÆSAR, Emperor, to CICERO, Emperor.

"You judge rightly of me, for I am thoroughly "known to you, that nothing is farther removed from "me than cruelty; and, as I have a great pleasure "from the thing itself, so I rejoice and triumph to "find my act approved by you: nor does it at all "move me, that those who were dismissed by me, are "said to be gone away to renew the war against me: "for I desire nothing more, than that I may always "act like myself; they like themselves. I wish that "you would meet me at the city, that I may use your "counsel and assistance as I have hitherto done in all "things. Nothing, I assure you, is dearer to me than "Dolabella; I will owe this favour therefore to him: "nor is it possible for him indeed to behave other-

* Sed obsecro te, quid hoc miserius, quam alterum plausus in fœdissima causa quærere; alterum offensiones in optima? alterum existimari conservatorem inimicorum, alterum desertorem amicorum? et mehercule quamvis amemus Cnæum nostrum, ut et facimus et debemus, tamen hoc, quod talibus viris non subvenit, laudare non possum. Nam sive timuit quid ignavius? sive, ut quidam putant, meliorem suam causam illorum cæde fore putavit, quid injustius? Ad Att. 8. 9.

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" wise, such is his humanity, his good sense, and his " affection to me. Adieu *.

When Pompey, after the unhappy affair of Corfinium, found himself obliged to retire to Brundisium, and to declare, what he had never before directly owned, his design of quitting Italy, and carrying the war abroad †; he was very desirous to draw Cicero along with him, and wrote two letters to him at Formiæ, to press him to come away directly; but Cicero, already much out of humour with him, was disgusted still the more by his short and negligent manner of writing, upon an occasion so important ‡: the second of Pompey's letters, with Cicero's answer, will explain the present state of their affairs, and Cicero's sentiments upon them.

CN. POMPEIUS MAGNUS, Proconsul, to M. CICERO, Emperor.

" If you are in good health, I rejoice: I read your " letter with pleasure: for I perceived in it your an- " cient virtue by your concern for the common safety. " The consuls are come to the army, which I had in " Apulia: I earnestly exhort you, by your singular " and perpetual affection to the republic to come al- " so to us, that by our joint advice we may give help

* Ad Att. 9. 16.

† Qui amisso Corfinio denique me certiorem consilii sui fecit. Ibid. 9. 2.

‡ Epistolarum Pompeii duarum, quas ad me misit, negligentiam meamque in scribendo diligentiam, volui tibi notam esse: earum exempla ad te misi. Ib. 8. 11.

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" and relief to the afflicted state. I would have you " make the Appian way your road, and come in all " haste to Brundisium. Take care of your health."

M. CICERO, Emperor, to CN. MAGNUS, Proconsul.

" WHEN I sent that letter, which was delivered to " you at Canusium, I had no suspicion of your cros- " sing the sea for the service of the republic, and was " in great hopes that we should be able, either to " bring about an accommodation, which to me seem- " ed the most useful, or to defend the republic with " the greatest dignity in Italy. In the mean time, " before my letter reached you, being informed of " your resolution, by the instructions which you sent " to the consuls, I did not wait till I could have a let- " ter from you, but set out immediately towards you " with my brother and our children for Apulia. When " we were come to Theanum, your friend C. Messius, " and many others, told us, that Cæssr was on the road " to Capua, and would lodge that very night at Æser- " nia: I was much disturbed at it, because, if it was " true, I not only took my journey to be precluded, " but myself also to be certainly a prisoner. I went " on therefore to Cales with intent to stay there, till I " could learn from Æsernia the certainty of my intel- " ligence: at Cales there was brought to me a copy " of the letter, which you wrote to the consul Lentu- " lus, with which you sent the copy also of one that " you had received from Domitius, dated the eigh- " teenth of February, and signified, that it was of

A. Urb. 704. Cic. 58. Coss—C. Claudius Marcellus. L. Corn. Lentulus Crus.

" great importance to the republic, that all the troops
" should be drawn together, as soon as possible to one
" place; yet so as to leave a sufficient garrison in Ca-
" pua. Upon reading these letters, I was of the same
" opinion with all the rest, that you were resolved to
" march to Corfinium with all your forces, whither,
" when Cæsar lay before the town, I thought it im-
" possible for me to come. While this affair was in
" the utmost expectation, we were informed at one
" and the same time, both of what had happened at
" Corfinium, and that you were actually marching to-
" wards Brundisium: and when I and my brother re-
" solved without hesitation to follow you thither, we
" were advertised by many, who came from Samni-
" um, and Apulia, to take care that we did not fall
" into Cæsar's hands, for that he was upon his march
" to the same places where our road lay, and would
" reach them sooner than we could possibly do. This
" being the case, it did not seem adviseable to me, or
" my brother, or any of our friends, to run the risk of
" hurting, not only ourselves, but the republic, by our
" rashness: especially when we could not doubt, but
" that, if the journey had been false to us, we should
" not then be able to overtake you. In the mean
" while I received your letter dated from Canusium
" the twenty-first of February, in which you exhort
" me to come in all haste to Brundisium: but as I did
" not receive it till the twenty-ninth, I made no ques-
" tion but that you were already arrived at Brundisi-
" um, and all that road seemed wholly shut up to us,
" and we ourselves as surely intercepted as those who

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" were taken at Corfinium: for we did not reckon
" them only to be prisoners, who were actually fallen
" into the enemy's hands, but those too not less so,
" who happen to be enclosed within the quarters and
" garrisons of their adversaries. Since this is our case,
" I heartily wish, in the first place, that I had always
" been with you, as I then told you when I relinquish-
" ed the command of Capua, which I did not do for
" the sake of avoiding trouble, but because I saw that
" the town could not be held without an army, and
" was unwilling that the same accident should happen
" to me, which to my sorrow has happened to some of
" our bravest citizens at Corfinium: but since it has
" not been my lot to be with you, I wish that I had
" been made privy to your counsels: for I could not
" possibly suspect, and should sooner have believed a-
" ny thing, than that, for the good of the republic, un-
" der such a leader as you, we should not be able to
" stand our ground in Italy: nor do I now blame your
" conduct, but lament the fate of the republic; and
" though I cannot comprehend what it is which you
" have followed, yet I am not the less persuaded, that
" you have done nothing but with the greatest reason.
" You remember, I believe, what my opinion always
" was; first, to preserve peace even on bad conditions;
" then about leaving the city; for as to Italy, you
" never intimated a tittle to me about it: but I do not
" take upon myself to think that my advice ought to
" have been followed: I followed yours; nor that for
" the sake of the republic, of which I despaired, and
" which is now overturned, so as not to be raised up

A. Urb. 704. Cic. 58. Coss.—C. Claudius Marcellus. L. Corn. Lentulus Crus.

" again without a civil and most pernicious war: I " sought you; desired to be with you; nor will I omit " the first opportunity which offers of effecting it. I " easily perceived, through all this affair, that I did " not satisfy those who are fond of fighting: for I " made no scruple to own, that I wished for nothing " so much as peace; not but that I had the same ap- " prehensions from it as they; but I thought them " more tolerable than a civil war; then, after the war " was begun, when I saw that conditions of peace were " offered to you, and a full and honourable answer " given to them, I began to weigh and deliberate well " upon my own conduct, which, considering your kind- " ness to me, I fancied that I should easily explain to " your satisfaction: I recollected that I was the only " man, who, for the greatest services to the public, " had suffered a most wretched and cruel punishment: " that I was the only one, who, if I offended him, to " whom, at the very time when we were in arms a- " gainst him, a second consulship and most splendid " triumph was offered, should be involved again in all " the same struggles; so that my person seemed to " stand always exposed as a public mark to the insults " of profligate citizens: nor did I suspect any of these " things till I was openly threatened with them, nor " was I so much afraid of them, if they were really to " befall me, as I judged it prudent to decline them, if " they could honestly be avoided. You see, in short, " the state of my conduct while we had any hopes of " peace; what has since happened deprived me of all " power to do any thing: but to those whom I do not

A. Urb. 704. Cic. 58. Cos.—C. Claudius Marcellus. L. Corn. Lentulus Crus.

" please I can easily answer, that I never was more a " friend to C. Cæsar than they, nor they ever better " friends to the republic than myself: the only diffe- " rence between me and them is, that as they are ex- " cellent citizens, and I not far removed from that " character, it was my advice to proceed by way of " treaty, which I understood to be approved also by " you; theirs by way of arms; and since this method " has prevailed, it shall be my care to behave myself " so, that the republic may not want in me the spirit " of a true citizen, nor you of a friend. Adieu *."

The disgust which Pompey's management had given him, and which he gently intimates in this letter, was the true reason why he did not join him at this time: he had a mind to deliberate a while longer before he took a step so decisive: this he owns to Atticus, where, after recounting all the particulars of his own conduct, which were the most liable to exception, he adds, " I " have neither done nor omitted to do any thing which " has not both a probable and prudent excuse—and, " in truth, was willing to consider a little longer what " was right and fit for me to do †." The chief ground of his deliberation was, that he still thought a peace possible, in which case Pompey and Cæsar would be one again, and he had no mind to give Cæsar any cause to be an enemy to him, when he was become a friend to Pompey.

* Ad Att. 8. 11.

† Nihil prætermissum est, quod non habeat sapientem excusationem, et plane quid rectum, et quid faciendum mihi esset, diutius cogitari malui. Ib. 8. 11.

A. Urb. 704. Cic. 58. Coss.—C. Claudius Marcellus. L. Corn. Lentulus Crus.

While things were in this situation, Cæsar sent young Balbus after the consul Lentulus, to endeavour to persuade him to stay in Italy, and return to the city, by the offer of every thing that could tempt him: he called upon Cicero on his way, who gives the following account of it to Atticus: "Young Balbus came to me on the twenty-fourth in the evening, running in all haste by private roads, after Lentulus, with letters and instructions from Cæsar, and the offer of any government, if he will return to Rome; but it will have no effect unless they happen to meet: he told me that Cæsar desired nothing so much as to overtake Pompey; which I believe; and to be friends with him again; which I do not believe; and begin to fear, that all his clemency means nothing else at last but to give that one cruel blow. The elder Balbus writes me word, that Cæsar wishes nothing more than to live in safety, and yield the first rank to Pompey. You take him, I suppose, to be in earnest †."

Cicero seems to think, that Lentulus might have been persuaded to stay, if Balbus and he had met together; for he had no opinion of the firmness of these consuls, but says of them both, on another occasion, that they were more easily moved by every wind, than a feather or a leaf. He received another letter soon after from Balbus, of which he sent a copy to

† Ad Att. 8. 9.

A. Urb. 704. Cic. 58. Cos.—C Claudius Marcellus. C. Corn. Lentulus Crus.

Atticus, "that he might pity him," he says, "to see "what a dupe they thought to make of him ‡."

BALBUS to CICERO, Emperor.

"I conjure you, Cicero, to think of some method of "making Cæsar and Pompey friends again, who by "the perfidy of certain persons are now divided: it is "a work highly worthy of your virtue: take my word "for it, Cæsar will not only be in your power, but "think himself infinitely obliged to you, if you would "charge yourself with this affair. I should be glad if "Pompey would do so too; but in the present circum-"stances, it is what I wish rather than hope, that he "may be brought to any terms: but whenever he "gives over flying and fearing Cæsar, I shall not des-"pair, that your authority may have its weight with "him. Cæsar takes it kindly, that you were for Len-"tulus's staying in Italy, and it was the greatest ob-"ligation which you could confer upon me: for I love "him as much as I do Cæsar himself: if he had suf-"fered me to talk to him as freely as we used to do, "and not so often shunned the opportunities which I "sought of conferring with him, I should have been "less unhappy than I now am: for assure yourself "that no man can be more afflicted than I, to see one, "who is dearer to me than myself, acting his part so "ill in his consulship, that he seems to be any thing

‡ Nec me consules movent, qui ipsi pluma aut folio facilius moventur, ut vicem meam doleres, cum me derideri videres, Ib. 8. 15.

A. Urb. 704. Cic. 58. Coss.—C. Claudius Marcellus. L. Corn. Lentulus Crus.

" rather than a consul: but, should he be disposed to " follow your advice, and take your word for Cæsar's " good intentions, and I pass the rest of his consulship " at Rome, I should begin to hope, that, by your au- " thority, and at his motion, Pompey and Cæsar may " be made one again with the approbation even of the " senate. Whenever this can be brought about, I shall " think that I have lived long enough: you will en- " tirely approve, I am sure, what Cæsar did at Corfi- " nium; in an affair of that sort, nothing could fall " out better, than that it should be transacted without " blood. I am extremely glad, that my nephew's vi- " sit was agreeable to you; as to what he said on Cæ- " sar's part, and what Cæsar himself wrote to you, I " know Cæsar to be very sincere in it, whatever turn " his affairs may take *."

Cæsar at the same time was extremely solicitous, not so much to gain Cicero, for that was not to be expected, as to prevail with him to stand neuter. He wrote to him several times to that effect, and employed all their common friends to press him with letters on that head †: who, by his keeping such a distance at this time from Pompey, imagining that they had made some impression, began to attempt a second point with him, viz. to persuade him to come back to Rome, and assist in the councils of the senate, which Cæsar designed to summon at his return from follow-

* Ad Att. 8. 15.

† Quod quæris quid Cæsar ad me scripserit. Quod sæpe: gratissimum sibi esse quod quierim: oratque ut in eo perseverem. Balbus minor hæc eadem mandata. Ib. 8. 11.

A. Urb. 704. Cic. 58. Cos.—C. Claudius Marcellus. L. Corn. Lentulus Crus.

ing Pompey: with this view, in the hurry of his march towards Brundisium, Cæsar sent him the following letter.

CÆSAR, Emperor, to CICERO, Emperor.

"When I had but just time to see our friend Furnius, nor could conveniently speak with, or hear him, "was in haste, and on my march, having sent the legions before me, yet I could not pass by without "writing, and sending him to you with my thanks; "though I have often paid this duty before, and seem "likely to pay it oftener, you deserve it so well of me. "I desire of you in a special manner, that, as I hope "to be in the city shortly, I may see you there, and "have the benefit of your advice, your interest, your "authority, your assistance in all things. But to return to the point: you will pardon the haste and "brevity of my letter, and learn the rest from Furnius." To which Cicero answered.

CICERO, Emperor, to CÆSAR, Emperor.

"Upon reading your letter, delivered to me by "Furnius, in which you pressed me to come to the "city, I did not so much wonder at what you there "intimated, of your desire to use my advice and authority, but was at a loss to find out what you meant "by my interest, and assistance: yet I flattered myself into a persuasion, that, out of your admirable "and singular wisdom, you are desirous to enter into "some measures for establishing the peace and con-

A. Urb. 704. Cic. 58. Cos.—C. Claudius Marcellus. L. Corn. Lentulus Cos.

" cord of the city; and in that case I looked upon my
" temper and character as fit enough to be employed
" in such a deliberation. If the case be so, and you
" have any concern for the safety of our friend Pom-
" pey, and of reconciling him to yourself, and to the
" republic, you will certainly find no man more pro-
" per for such a work than I am, who, from the very
" first, have always been the adviser of peace, both to
" him and the senate; and, since this recourse to
" arms, have not meddled with any part of the war,
" but thought you to be really injured by it, while
" your enemies and enviers were attempting to de-
" prive you of those honours which the Roman peo-
" ple had granted you. But, as at that time, I was
" not only a favourer of your dignity, but an encou-
" rager also of others to assist you in it; so, now the
" dignity of Pompey greatly affects me: for many
" years ago I made choice of you two, with whom
" to cultivate a particular friendship, and to be,
" as I now am, most strictly united. Where-
" fore I desire of you, or rather beg and implore
" with all my prayers, that in the hurry of your cares
" you would indulge a moment to this thought, how
" by your generosity I may be permitted to shew my-
" self an honest, grateful pious man, in remembering
" an act of the greatest kindness to me. If this relat-
" ed only to myself, I should hope still to obtain it from
" you: but it concerns, I think, both your honour and
" the republic, that by your means I should be allow-
" ed to continue in a situation the best adapted to pro-

A. Urb. 704. Cic. 58. Cos.—C. Claudius Marcellus. L. Corn. Lentulus Crus.

" mote the peace of you two, as well as the general " concord of all the citizens. After I had sent my " thanks to you before on the account of Lentulus; " for giving safety to him who had given it to me; yet, " upon reading his letter, in which he expresses the " most grateful sense of your liberality, I took myself " to have received the same grace from you, which he " had done: towards whom, if by this you perceive " me to be ungrateful, let it be your care, I beseech " you, that I may be so too towards Pompey *."

Cicero was censured for some passages of this letter, which Cæsar took care to make public, viz. the compliment on Cæsar's *admirable wisdom;* and above all, the acknowledgement of his being *injured* by his adversaries in the present war: in excuse of which, he says, " that he was not sorry for the publication of it, " for he himself had given several copies of it; and, " considering what had since happened, was pleased " to have it known to the world how much he had al- " ways been inclined to peace; and that, in urging " Cæsar to save his country, he thought it his business " to use such expressions as were the most likely to " gain authority with him, without fearing to be thought " guilty of flattery, in urging him to an act for which " he would gladly have thrown himself even at his " feet †."

* Ad Att. 9. 6, 11.

† Epistolam meam quod pervulgatam scribis esse non fero moleste. Quin etiam ipse multis dedi describendam. Ea enim et acciderunt jam et impendent, ut testatum esse velim de pace quid sen-

serim

A. Urb. 704. Cic. 58. Coss.—C. Claudius Marcellus. L. Corn. Lentulus Cru.

He received another letter on the same subject, and about the same time, written jointly by Balbus and Oppius, two of Cæsar's chief confidents.

BALBUS and OPPIUS to M. CICERO.

" The advice, not only of little men, such as we are, " but even of the greatest, is generally weighed, not " by the intention of the giver, but the event; yet, re- " lying on your humanity, we will give you what we " take to be the best, in the case about which you " wrote to us; which, though it should not be found " prudent, yet certainly flows from the utmost fidelity " and affection to you. If we did not know from Cæ- " sar himself, that, as soon as he comes to Rome, he " will do what in our judgment we think he ought to " do, treat about a reconciliation between him and " Pompey, we should give over exhorting you to come " and take part in those deliberations; that by your " help, who have a strict friendship with them both, " the whole affair may be settled with ease and dignity: " or if, on the contrary, we believed that Cæsar would " not do it, and knew that he was resolved upon a " war with Pompey, we should never try to persuade " you to take arms against a man to whom you have " the greatest obligations, in the same manner as we " have always entreated you not to fight against Cæ-

serim. Cum autem eum hortarer, cum præsertim hominem, non videbar ullo modo facilius moturus, quam si id, quod eum hortarer, convenire ejus sapientiæ dicerem. Eam si admirabilem dixi, cum eum ad salutem patriæ hortarer, non sum veritus, ne viderer assentiri, cui tali in re lubenter me ad pedes abjecissem, &c. Ib. 8. 9.

A. Urb. 704. Cic. 58. Cos.—C. Claudius Marcellus. L. Corn. Lentulus Crus.

"sar. But since at present we can only guess rather "than know what Cæsar will do, we have nothing to "offer but this, that it does not seem agreeable to your "dignity, or your fidelity, so well known to all, when "you are intimate with them both, to take arms against "either: and this we do not doubt but Cæsar, accord- "ing to his humanity, will highly approve: yet if you "judge proper, we will write to him, to let us know "what he will really do about it; and if he returns us "an answer, will presently send you notice, what we "think of it, and give you our word, that we will advise "only what we take to be most suitable to your ho- "nour, not to Cæsar's views; and are persuaded, that "Cæsar, out of his indulgence to his friends, will be "pleased with it ‡." This joint letter was followed by "a separate one from Balbus.

BALBUS to CICERO, Emperor.

"IMMEDIATELY after I had sent the common letter "from Oppius and myself, I received one from Cæ- "sar, of which I have sent you a copy; whence you "will perceive how desirous he is of peace, and to be "reconciled with Pompey, and how far removed from "all thoughts of cruelty. It gives me an extreme "joy, as it certainly ought to do, to see him in these "sentiments. As to yourself, your fidelity, and your "piety, I am entirely of the same mind, my dear Ci- "cero, with you, that you cannot, consistently with "your character and duty, bear arms against a man

‡ Ad Att. 9. 8.

A. Urb. 704. Cic. 58. Coss.—C. Claudius Marcellus. L. Corn. Lentulus Cru.

" to whom you declare yourself so greatly obliged:
" that Cæsar will approve this resolution, I certainly
" know, from his singular humanity; and that you
" will perfectly satisfy him, by taking no part in the
" war against him, nor joining yourself to his adversa-
" ries: this he will think sufficient, not only from you,
" a person of such dignity and splendour, but has al-
" lowed it even to me, not to be found in that camp,
" which is likely to be formed against Lentulus and
" Pompey, from whom I have received the greatest
" obligations: It was enough," he said, " if I perform-
" ed my part to him in the city and the gown, which
" I might perform also to them if I thought fit: where-
" fore I now manage all Lentulus's affairs at Rome,
" and discharge my duty, my fidelity, my piety, to
" them both: yet in truth I do not take the hopes of
" an accommodation, though now so low, to be quite
" desperate, since Cæsar is in that mind in which we
" ought to wish him: one thing would please me, if
" you think it proper, that you would write to him,
" and desire a guard from him, as you did from Pom-
" pey, at the time of Milo's trial, with my approba-
" tion: I will undertake for him, if I rightly know
" Cæsar, that he will sooner pay a regard to your dig-
" nity, than to his own interest. How prudently I
" write these things, I know not; but this I certainly
" know; that whatever I write, I write out of singu-
" lar love and affection to you: for (let me die, so as
" Cæsar may but live) if I have not so great an esteem
" for you, that few are equally dear to me. When
" you have taken any resolution in this affair, I wish

A. Urb. 704. Cic. 58. Coss.—C. Claudius Marcellus. L. Corn. Lentulus Crus.

" that you would let me know it, for I am exceeding-
" ly solicitous that you should discharge your duty to
" them both, which in truth I am confident you will
" discharge. Take care of your health *."

The offer of a guard was artfully insinuated; for while it carried an appearance of honour and respect to Cicero's person, it must necessarily have made him Cæsar's prisoner, and deprived him of the liberty of retiring, when he found it proper, out of Italy: but he was too wise to be caught by it, or to be moved in any manner by the letters themselves, to entertain the least thought of going to Rome, since, to assist in the senate, when Pompey and the consuls were driven out of it, was in reality to take part against them. What gave him a more immediate uneasiness, was the daily expectation of an interview with Cæsar himself, who was now returning from Brundisium by the road of Formiæ, where he then resided: for though he would gladly have avoided him, if he could have contrived to do it decently, yet to leave the place just when Cæsar was coming to it, could not fail of being interpreted as a particular affront: he resolved therefore to wait for him, and to act on the occasion with a firmness and gravity which became his rank and character.

They met, as he expected, and he sent Atticus the following account of what passed between them: "My dis-
" course with him," says he, "was such, as would rather
" make him think well of me, than thank me. I stood firm

* Ad Att. 9. 8.

A. Urb. 704. Cic. 58. Coss.—C. Claudius Marcellus. L. Corn. Lentulus Crus.

" in refusing to go to Rome; but was deceived in ex-
" pecting to find him easy; for I never saw any one
" less so: he was condemned, he said, by my judg-
" ment; and if I did not come, others would be the
" more backward: I told him that their case was
" very different from mine. After many things said
" on both sides, he bade me come however and try to
" make peace:" " Shall I do it," says I, " in my own
" way?" " Do you imagine," replied he, " that I will
" prescribe to you?" " I will move the senate, then,"
" says I, " for a decree against your going to Spain, or
" transporting your troops into Greece, and say a great
" deal besides in bewailing the case of Pompey:" " I
" will not allow," replied he, " such things to be said:"
" So I thought," says I, " and for that reason will
" not come; because I must either say them, and
" many more, which I cannot help saying, if I am
" there, or not come at all." The result was; that, to
" shift off the discourse, he wished me to consider of it;
" which I could not refuse to do, and so we parted.
" I am persuaded, that he is not pleased with me; but
" I am pleased with myself; which I have not been
" before of a long time. As for the rest; good gods,
" what a crew he has with him! what a hellish band,
" as you call them!—what a deplorable affair! what
" desperate troops! what a lamentable thing, to see
" Servius's son, and Titinius's, with many more of their
" rank in that camp which besieged Pompey! he has
" six legions; wakes at all hours; fears nothing; I
" see no end of this calamity. His declaration at the
" last, which I had almost forgot, was odious; that if

A. Urb. 704. Cic. 48. Cos.—C. Claudius Marcellus. L. Corn. Lentulus Crus.

"he was not permitted to use my advice, he would "use such as he could get from others, and pursue all "measures which were for his service *." From this conference, Cicero went directly to Arpinum, and there invested his son, at the age of sixteen, with the manly gown; he resolved to carry him along with him to Pompey's camp, and thought it proper to give him an air of manhood before he enlisted him into the war; and, since he could not perform that ceremony at Rome, chose to oblige his countrymen, by celebrating this festival in his native city †.

While Cæsar was on the road towards Rome, young Quintus Cicero, the nephew, a fiery giddy youth, privately wrote to offer his service, with a promise of some information concerning his uncle; upon which, being sent for and admitted to an audience, he assured Cæsar, that his uncle was utterly disaffected to all his measures, and determined to leave Italy and go to Pompey. The boy was tempted to this rashness by the hopes of a considerable present, and gave much uneasiness by it both to the father and the uncle, who had reason to fear some ill consequence from it ‡:

* Ad Att. 9. 18.

† Ego meo Ciceroni, quoniam Roma caremus, Arpini potissimum togam puram dedi, idque municipibus nostris fuit gratum—ib. 19.

‡ Literas ejus ad Cæsarem missas ita graviter tulimus, ut te quidem celaremus, tantum scito post Hirtium conventum, arcessitum ab Cæsare; cum eo de meo animo ab suis consiliis alienissimo, et consilio relinquendi Italiam. Ib. 10. 4, 5, &c.

Quintum puerum accepi vehementer. Avaritiam video fuisse, et spem magni congiarii. Magnum hoc malum est. Ib. 10. 7.

A. Urb. 704. Cic. 58. Coss.—C. Claudius Marcellus. L. Corn. Lentulus Cru.

But Cæsar, desiring still to divert Cæsar from declaring against him, and to quiet the apprehensions which he might entertain for what was past, took occasion to signify to him, in a kind letter from Rome, "that "he retained no resentment of his refusal to come to "the city, though Tullus and Servius complained that "he had not shewn the same indulgence to them,— "ridiculous men," says Cicero, "who, after sending "their sons to besiege Pompey at Brundisium, pretend "to be scrupulous about going to the senate †."

Cicero's behaviour, however, and residence in those villas of his, which were nearest to the sea, gave rise to a general report, that he was waiting only for a wind to carry him over to Pompey; upon which Cæsar sent him another pressing letter, to try, if possible, to dissuade him from that step.

CÆSAR, Emperor, to CICERO, Emperor.

"THOUGH I never imagined that you would do any "thing rashly or imprudently, yet, moved by common "report, I thought proper to write to you, and beg of "you, by our mutual affection, that you would not "run to a declining cause, whither you did not think "fit to go while it stood firm. For you will do the "greatest injury to our friendship, and consult but ill

† Cæsar mihi ignoscit per literas, quod non Romam venerim, seseque in optimam partem id accipere dicit. Facilè patior, quod scribit, secum Tullum et Servium questos esse, quia non idem sibi, quod mihi remisisset. Homines ridiculos, qui cum filios misissent ad Cn. Pompeium circumsidendum, ipsi in senatum venire dubitarent. Ib. 10. 3.

A. Urb. 704. Cic. 58. Coss.—C. Claudius Marcellus. L. Corn. Lentulus Crus.

" for yourself, if you do not follow where fortune calls:
" for all things seem to have succeeded most prosper-
" ously for us, most unfortunately for them: nor will
" you be thought to have followed the cause, (since
" that was the same, when you chose to withdraw
" yourself from their counsels) but to have condemned
" some act of mine; than which you can do nothing
" that could affect me more sensibly, and what I beg,
" by the rights of our friendship, that you would not
" do. Lastly, what is more agreeable to the charac-
" ter of an honest, quiet man, and good citizen, than
" to retire from civil broils? from which some, who
" would gladly have done it, have been deterred by
" an apprehension of danger: but you, after a full tes-
" timony of my life, and trial of my friendship, will find
" nothing more safe or more reputable, than to keep
" yourself clear from all this contention. The 16th
" of April, on the road *."

Antony also, whom Cæsar left to guard Italy in his absence, wrote to him to the same purpose, and on the same day.

ANTONIUS, Tribune of the People, and Proprætor, to CICERO, Emperor.

" IF I had not a great esteem for you, and much
" greater indeed than you imagine, I should not be
" concerned at the report which is spread of you, es-
" pecially when I take it to be but false. But, out of

* Ad Att. x. 8.

A. Urb. 704. Cic. 58. Coss.—C. Claudius Marcellus. L. Corn. Lentulus Crus.

" the excess of my affection, I cannot dissemble, that " even a report, though false, makes some impression " on me. I cannot believe that you are preparing to " cross the sea, when you have such a value for Dola- " bella, and your daughter Tullia, that excellent wo- " man, and are so much valued by us all, to whom in " truth your dignity and honour are almost dearer " than to yourself; yet I did not think it the part of " a friend not to be moved by the discourse even of " ill-designing men, and wrote this with the greater " inclination, as I take my part to be the more diffi- " cult on the account of our late coldness, occasioned " rather by my jealousy, than any injury from you. " For I desire you to assure yourself, that no body is " dearer to me than you, excepting my Cæsar, and " that I know also that Cæsar reckons M. Cicero in " the first class of his friends. Wherefore I beg of " you, my Cicero, that you will keep yourself free and " undetermined, and despise the fidelity of that man " who first did you an injury, that he might afterwards " do you a kindness; nor fly from him, who, though " he should not love you, which is impossible, yet will " always desire to see you in safety and splendour. I " have sent Calpurnius to you with this, the most in- " timate of my friends, that you might perceive the " great concern which I have for your life and dig- " nity *."

Cælius also wrote to him on the same subject; but finding, by some hints in Cicero's answer, that he was

* Ad Att. x. 8.

A. Urb. 704. Cic. 58. Coss.—C. Claudius Marcellus. L. Corn. Lentulus Crus.

actually preparing to run away to Pompey, he sent him a second letter, in a most pathetic, or, as Cicero calls it, lamentable strain †, in hopes to work upon him by alarming all his fears.

CÆLIUS to CICERO.

"BEING in a consternation at your letter, by which "you shew that you are meditating nothing but what "is dismal, yet neither tell me directly what it is, nor "wholly hide it from me, I presently wrote this to "you. By all your fortunes, Cicero, by your chil- "dren, I beg and beseech you, not to take any step "injurious to your safety; for I call the gods and "men, and our friendship, to witness, that what I "have told, and forewarned you of, was not any vain "conceit of my own, but after I had talked with Cæ- "sar, and understood from him, how he resolved to "act after his victory, I informed you of what I had "learnt. If you imagine that his conduct will always "be the same, in dismissing his enemies, and offering "conditions, you are mistaken: he thinks and even "talks of nothing but what is fierce and severe, and "is gone away much out of humour with the senate, "and thoroughly provoked by the opposition which "he has met with, nor will there be any room for mer- "cy. Wherefore, if you yourself, your only son, your "house, your remaining hopes, be dear to you: if I, if "the worthy man, your son-in-law, have any weight

† M. Cælii epistolam scriptam miserabiliter. Ib. x. 9.

A. Urb. 704. Cic. 58. Cos.—C. Claudius Marcellus. L. Corn. Lentulus Crus.

" with you, you should not desire to overturn our for-
" tunes, and force us to hate or to relinquish that
" cause in which our safety consists, or to entertain
" an impious wish against yours. Lastly, reflect on
" this, that you have already given all the offence
" which you can give, by staying so long behind; and
" now to declare against a conqueror, whom you would
" not offend, while his cause was doubtful, and to fly
" after those who run away, with whom you would not
" join, while they were in condition to resist, is the ut-
" most folly. Take care, that, while you are asham-
" ed not to approve yourself one of the best citizens,
" you be not too hasty in determining what is the
" best. But if I cannot wholly prevail with you, yet
" wait at least till you know how we succeed in Spain,
" which I now tell you will be ours as soon as Cæsar
" comes thither. What hopes they may have when
" Spain is lost, I know not; and what your view can
" be, in acceding to a desperate cause, by my faith I
" cannot find out. As to the thing, which you dis-
" cover to me by your silence about it, Cæsar has been
" informed of it; and, after the first salutation, told
" me presently what he had heard of you: I denied
" that I knew any thing of the matter, but begged of
" him to write to you in a manner the most effectual
" to make you stay. He carries me with him into
" Spain, if he did not, I would run away to you where-
" ever you are, before I came to Rome, to dispute
" this point with you in person, and hold you fast e-
" ven by force. Consider, Cicero, again and again,
" that you may not utterly ruin both you and yours;

A. Urb. 704. Cic. 58. Cos.—C. Claudius Marcellus. L. Corn. Lentulus Crus.

" that you may not knowingly and willingly throw " yourself into difficulties, whence you see no way to " extricate yourself. But if either the reproaches of " the better sort touch you, or you cannot bear the " insolence and haughtiness of a certain set of men, " I would advise you to chuse some place remote from " the war, till these contests be over, which will soon " be decided: if you do this, I shall think that you " have done wisely, and you will not offend Cæsar *."

Cælius's advice, as well as his practice, was grounded upon a maxim, which he had before advanced in a letter to Cicero, " that, in a public dissension, as long " as it was carried on by civil methods, one ought to " take the honester side; but when it came to arms, " the stronger; and to judge that the best which was " the safest †." Cicero was not of his opinion, but governed himself in this, as he generally did, in all other cases, by a contrary rule; " that where our du- " ty and our safety interfere, we should adhere always " to what is right, whatever danger we incur by it."

Curio paid Cicero a friendly visit of two days about this time on his way towards Sicily, the command of which Cæsar had committed to him. Their conversation turned on the unhappy condition of the times, and the impending miseries of the war, in which Curio was open, and without any reserve, in talking of

* Ep. fam. 8. 16.

† Illud te non arbitror fugere; quin homines in dissensione domestica debeant, quamdiu civiliter sine armis certetur, honestiorem sequi partem: ubi ad bellum et castra ventum sit, firmiorem; et id melius statuere, quod tutius sit. Ep. fam. 8, 14.

A. Urb. 704. Cic. 58. Coss.—C. Claudius Marcellus. L. Corn. Lentulus Crus.

Cæsar's views: "He exhorted Cicero to chuse some "neutral place for his retreat; assured him, that Cæ- "sar would be pleased with it; offered him all kind "of accommodation and safe passage through Sicily; "made not the least doubt, but that Cæsar would soon "be master of Spain, and then follow Pompey with "his whole force; and that Pompey's death would be "the end of the war: but confessed withal, that he "saw no prospect or glimmering of hope for the re- "public: said, that Cæsar was so provoked by the "tribune Metellus at Rome, that he had a mind to "have killed him, as many of his friends advised; "that if he had done it, a great slaughter would have "ensued; that his clemency flowed, not from his na- "tural disposition, but because he thought it popular; "and if he once lost the affections of the people, he "would be cruel: that he was disturbed to see the "people so disgusted by his seizing the public trea- "sure; and though he had resolved to speak to them "before he left Rome, yet he durst not venture upon "it for fear of some affront; and went away at last "much discomposed *."

The leaving the public treasure at Rome a prey to Cæsar, is censured more than once by Cicero, as one of the blunders of his friends †: but it is a common case in civil dissensions, for the honester side, through the fear of discrediting their cause by any irregular act, to ruin it by an unseasonable moderation. The public money was kept in the temple of Saturn; and

* Ad Att. x. 4. † Ib. 7. 12, 15.

A. Urb. 704. Cic. 58. Coss.—C. Claudius Marcellus. L. Corn. Lentulus Crus.

the consuls contented themselves with carrying away the keys, fancying, that the sanctity of the place would secure it from violence; especially when the greatest part of it was a fund of a sacred kind, set apart by the laws for occasions only of the last exigency, or the terror of a Gallic invasion *. Pompey was sensible of the mistake, when it was too late, and sent instructions to the consuls to go back and fetch away this sacred treasure: but Cæsar was then so far advanced, that they durst not venture upon it; and Lentulus coldly sent him word, that he himself should first march against Cæsar into Picenum, that they might be able to do it with safety †. Cæsar had none of these scruples; but, as soon as he came to Rome, ordered the door of the temple to be broken open, and the money to be seized for his own use; and had like to have killed the tribune Metellus, who, trusting to the authority of his office, was silly enough to attempt to hinder him. He found there an immense treasure, both in coin and wedges of solid gold, reserved from the spoils of conquered nations from the time even of the Punic war: "for the republic," as Pliny says, "had never been "richer than it was at this day ‡."

Cicero was now impatient to be gone, and the more so, on account of the inconvenient pomp of his laurel, and lictors, and stile of emperor; which, in a time of

* Dio, p. 161.

† C. Cassius—attulit mandata ad consules, ut Romam venirent, pecuniam de sanctiore ærario auferrent. Consul rescripsit, ut prius ipse in Picenum. Ad Att. 7. 21.

‡ Nec fuit aliis temporibus respub. locupletior. Plin. Hist. 33. 3.

A. Urb. 704. Cic. 58. Cos.—C. Claudius Marcellus. L. Corn. Lentulus Crus.

that jealousy and distraction, exposed him too much to the eyes of the public, as well as to the taunts and raillery of his enemies *. He resolved to cross the sea to Pompey; yet, knowing all his motions to be narrowly watched, took pains to conceal his intention, especially from Anthony, who resided at this time in his neighbourhood, and kept a strict eye upon him. He sent him word therefore by letter, that he had "no design against Cæsar; that he remembered his "friendship, and his son-in-law Dolabella; that if he "had other thoughts, he could easily have been with "Pompey; that his chief reason for retiring was to "avoid the uneasiness of appearing in public with the "formality of his lictors †." But Anthony wrote him a surly answer; which Cicero calls a laconic mandate, and sent a copy of it to Atticus, "to let him see," he says, "how tyrannically it was drawn."

"How sincere is your way of acting? for he, who "has a mind to stand neuter, stays at home; he, who "goes abroad, seems to pass a judgment on the one "side or the other. But it does not belong to me to "determine, whether a man may go abroad or not. "Cæsar has imposed this task upon me, not to suffer "any man to go out of Italy. Wherefore it signifies "nothing for me to approve your resolution, if I have

* Accedit etiam molesta hæc pompa lictorum meorum, nomenque imperii quo apellor—sed incurrit hæc nostra laurus non solum in oculos, sed jam etiam in voculas malevolorum. Ep. fam. 2. 16.

† Cum ego sæpissime scripsissem, nihil me contra Cæsaris rationes cogitare; meminisse me generi mei, meminisse amicitiæ, potuisse si aliter sentirem, esse cum Pompeio, me autem, quia cum lictoribus invitus cursarem, abesse velle. Ad Att. x. 10.

A. Urb. 704. Cic. 58. Coss.—C. Claudius Marcellus. L. Corn. Lentulus Crus.

" no power to indulge you in it. I would have you " write to Cæsar, and ask that favour of him: I do not " doubt but you will obtain it, especially since you " promise to retain a regard for our friendship *."

After this letter, Antony never came to see him, but sent an excuse, that he was ashamed to do it, because he took him to be angry with him, giving him to understand at the same time by Trebatius, that he had special orders to observe his motions †.

These letters give us the most sensible proof of the high esteem and credit in which Cicero flourished at this time in Rome: when, in a contest for empire, which force alone was to decide, we see the chiefs on both sides so solicitous to gain a man to their party, who had no peculiar skill in arms or talents for war: but his name and authority was the acquisition which they sought; since, whatever was the fate of their arms, the world, they knew, would judge better of the cause which Cicero espoused. The same letters will confute likewise in a great measure the common opinion of his want of resolution in all cases of difficulty, since no man could shew a greater than he did on the present occasion, when, against the importunities of his friends, and all the invitations of a successful power, he chose to follow that cause which he thought the best, though he knew it to be the weakest.

* Ad Att. x. 10.

† Nominatim de me sibi imperatum dicit Antonius, nec me tamen ipse adhuc viderat, sed hoc Trebatio narravit. Ib. x. 12.

Antonius—ad me misit, se pudore deterritum ad me non venisse, quod me sibi succensere putaret—ib. x. 15.

A. Urb. 704. Cic. 58. Coss.—C. Claudius Marcellus. L. Corn. Lentulus Crus.

During Cæsar's absence in Spain, Antony, who had no body to controul him at home, gave a free course to his natural disposition, and indulged himself without reserve in all the excess of lewdness and luxury. Cicero, describing his usual equipage in travelling about Italy, says, "he carries with him in an open "chaise the famed actress Cytheris; his wife follows "in a second, with seven other close litters, full of his "whores and boys. See by what base hands we fall; "and doubt, if you can, whether Cæsar, let him come "vanquished or victorious, will not make cruel work "amongst us at his return. For my part, if I cannot "get a ship, I will take a boat to transport myself out "of their reach; but I shall tell you more after I have "had a conference with Antony ‡." Among Antony's other extravagancies, he had the insolence to appear sometimes in public, with his mistress Cytheris in a chariot drawn by lions. Cicero, alluding to this, in a letter to Atticus, tell him jocosely, that he need not be afraid of Antony's lions *; for though the beasts were so fierce, the master himself was very tame.

Pliny speaks of this fact, "as a designed insult on "the Roman people; as if, by the emblem of the li-"ons, Antony intended to give them to understand,

‡ Hic tamen Cytheridem secum lectica aperta portat, altera uxorem: septem præterea conjunctæ lecticæ sunt amicarum, an amicorum? vide quam turpi leto pereamus: et dubita, si potes, quin ille, seu victus seu victor redierit, cædem facturus sit. Ego vero vel lintriculo, si navis non erit, eripiam me ex istorum parricidio. Sed plura scribam cum illum convenero—ib. x. 10.

* Tu Antonii leones pertimescas, cave. Nihil est illo homine jucundius. Ib. x. 13.

A. Urb. 704. Cic. 58. Coss.—C. Claudius Marcellus. L. Corn. Lentulus Crus.

" that the fiercest spirits of them would be forced to " submit to the yoke †:" Plutarch also mentions it; but both of them place it after the battle of Pharsalia, though it is evident, from this hint of it given by Cicero, that it happened long before.

Whilst Cicero continued at Formiæ, deliberating on the measures of his conduct, he formed several political theses, adapted to the circumstances of the times, for the amusement of his solitary hours: " Whether a " man ought to stay in his country, when it was pos- " sessed by a tyrant. Whether one ought not by all " means to attempt the dissolution of the tyranny " though the city on that account was exposed to the " utmost hazard: whether there was not cause to be " afraid of the man who should dissolve it, lest he " should advance himself into the other's place: whe- " ther we should not help our country by the methods " of peace, rather than war: whether it be the part of " a citizen to sit still in a neutral place, while his coun- " try is oppressed, or to run all hazards for the sake of " the common liberty: whether one ought to bring a " war upon his city, and besiege it, when in the hands " of a tyrant: whether a man, not approving the dis- " solution of a tyranny by war, ought not to join him- " self however to the best citizens: whether one ought

† Jugo subdidit eos, primusque Romæ ad currum junxit Antonius; et quidem civili bello cum dimicatum esset in Pharsalicis campis; non sine ostento quodam temporum, generosos spiritus jugum subire illo prodigio significante: nam quod ita vectus est cum mima Cytheride, supra monstra etiam illarum calamitatum fuit.—Plin. Hist. 8. 16.

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" to act with his benefactors and friends, though they " do not in his opinion take right measures for the pub- " lic interest: whether a man, who has done great ser- " vices to his country, and for that reason has been en- " vied and cruelly treated, is still bound to expose him- " self to fresh dangers for it, or may not be permitted " at last to take care of himself and his family, and " give up all political matters to the men of power— " by exercising myself, says he, in these questions, " and examining them on the one side and the other, " I relieve my mind from its present anxiety, and draw " out something which may be of use to me *."

From the time of his leaving the city, together with Pompey and the senate, there passed not a single day in which he did not write one or more letters to Atticus †, the only friend whom he trusted with the secret of his thoughts. From these letters it appears, that the sum of Atticus's advice to him agreed entirely with his own sentiments, that if Pompey remained in Italy, he ought to join with him; if not, should stay behind, and expect what fresh accidents might produce ‡. This was what Cicero had hitherto followed;

* In his ego me consultationibus exercens, distrahas in utramque partem, tum Græce tum Latine, abduco parumper animum a molestiis et τῶ περίεργω τι delibero. Ad Att. 9. 4.

† Hujus autem epistolæ non solum ea causa est, ut ne quis a me dies intermittetur, quin dem ad te literas, sed—ib. 8. 12.

Alteram tibi eodem die hanc epistolam dictavi et pridie dederam mea manu longiorem—ib. x. 3.

‡ Ego quidem tibi non sim auctor, si Pompeius Italiam relinquit, te quoque profugere, summo enim periculo facies, nec Reipub. proderis; cui quidem posterius poteris prodesse, si manseris—ib. 9. 10.

A. Urb. 704. Cic. 58. Cos.—C. Claudius Marcellus. L. Corn. Lentulus Crus.

and as to his future conduct, though he seems sometimes to be a little wavering and irresolute, yet the result of his deliberations constantly turned in favour of Pompey. His personal affection for the man, preference of his cause, the reproaches of the better sort, who began to censure his tardiness, and above all, his gratitude for favours received, which had ever the greatest weight with him, made him resolve at all adventures to run after him; and though he was displeased with his management of the war, and without any hopes of his success ‡; though he knew him before to be no politician, and now perceived him, he says, to be no general; yet, with all his faults, he could not endure the thought of deserting him, nor hardly forgive himself for staying so long behind him; "For as "in love," says he, "any thing dirty and indecent in "a mistress will stifle it for the present, so the defor- "mity of Pompey's conduct put me out of humour "with him, but now that he is gone, my love revives, "and I cannot bear his absence, &c ‖."

What held him still a while longer was the tears of his family, and the remonstrances of his daughter Tullia; who entreated him to wait only the issue of the Spanish war, and urged it as the advice of Atti-

‖ Ingrati animi crimen horreo—ib. 9. 2, 5, 7.—

Nec mehercule hoc facio Reipub. causa, quam funditus deletam puto, sed nequis me putet ingratum in eum, qui me levavit iis incommodis, quibus ipse affecerat—ib. 9. 19.—

Fortunæ sunt committenda omnia. Sine spe conamur ullâ. Si melius quid acciderit mirabimur—ib. x. 2.

* Sicut ἐν τοῖς ἐφεστιοῖς, alienant immundæ, insulsæ, indecoræ: sic me illius fugæ, negligentiæque deformitas avertit ab amore—nunc emergit amor, nunc desiderium ferre non possum. Ib. 9. 19.

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cus *. He was passionately fond of this daughter; and with great reason; for she was a woman of singular accomplishments, with the utmost affection and piety to him: speaking of her to Atticus, "how admirable," says he, "is her virtue? how does she bear the public calamity! how, her domestic disgusts! what a greatness of mind did she shew at my parting from them! in spight of the tenderness of her love, she wishes me to do nothing but what is right, and for my honour †." But as to the affair of Spain, he answered, "that whatever was the fate of it, it could not alter the case with regard to himself; for if Cæsar should be driven out of it, his journey to Pompey would be less welcome and reputable, since Curio himself would run over to him: or if the war was drawn into length, there would be no end of waiting: or lastly, if Pompey's army should be beaten, instead of sitting still, as they advised, he thought just the contrary, and should chuse the rather to run away from the violence of such a victory. He resolved, therefore," he says, "to act nothing craftily: but whatever became of Spain, to find out Pompey as soon as he could, in conformity

* Sed cum ad me mea Tullia scribat, orans, ut quid in Hispania geratur expectem, et semper adscribat idem videri tibi—ib. x. 8.

Lacrymæ meorum me interdum molliunt, precantium, ut de Hispaniis expectemus—ib. x. 9.

† Cujus quidem virtus mirifica. Quomodo illa ferat publicam cladem? quomodo domesticas tricas? quantus autem animus in discessu nostro? sit σοφγή, sit summa σύνεσις; tamen nos recte facere et bene audire vult. Ib. x. 8.

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" to Solon's law, who made it capital for a citizen not " to take part in a civil dissension ‡."

Before his going off, Servius Sulpicius sent him word from Rome, that he had a great desire to have a conference with him, to consult in common what measures they ought to take. Cicero consented to it, in hopes to find Servius in the same mind with himself, and to have his company to Pompey's camp: for, in answer to his message, he intimated his own intention of leaving Italy: and if Servius was not in the same resolution, advised him to save himself the trouble of the journey, though, if he had any thing of moment to communicate, he would wait for his coming *. But at their meeting he found him so timorous and desponding, and so full of scruples upon every thing which was proposed, that, instead of pressing him to the same conduct with himself, he found it necessary to conceal his own design from him: " Of all

‡ Si pelletur, quam gratus aut quam honestus tum erit ad Pompeium noster adventus, cum ipsum Curionem ad ipsum transiturum putem? si trahitur bellum, quid expectem, aut quam diu? relinquitur, ut si vincimus in Hispania, quiescamus. Id ego contra puto: istum enim victorem relinquendum magis puto, quam victum —ibid.—

Astute nihil sum acturus; fiat in Hispania quidlibet. Ib. x. 6.

Ego vero Solonis—legem negligam, qui capite sanxit, si qui in seditione non alterius utrius partis fuisset --ib. x. 1.

* Sin autem tibi homini prudentissimo videtur utile esse, nos colloqui, quanquam longius etiam cogitabam ab urbe discedere, cujus jam etiam nomen invitus audio, tamen propius accedam---Ep. fam. 4. 1.

Restat ut discedendum putem; in quo reliqua videtur esse deliberatio, quod consilium in discessu, quæ loca sequamur---si habes jam statutum, quid tibi agendum putes, in quo non sit conjunctum consilium tuum cum meo, supersedeas hoc labore itineris---ib. 4. 2.

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"the men," says he, "whom I have met with, he is "alone a greater coward than C. Marcellus, who la- "ments his having been consul; and urges Antony "to hinder my going, that he himself may stay with "a better grace *."

Cato, whom Pompey had sent to possess himself of Sicily, thought fit to quit that post, and yield up the island to Curio, who came likewise to seize it on Cæsar's part with a superior force. Cicero was much scandalized at Cato's conduct, being persuaded that he might have held his possession without difficulty, and that all honest men would have flocked to him, especially when Pompey's fleet was so near to support him: for if that had but once appeared on the coast, and begun to act, Curio himself, as he confessed, would have run away the first. "I wish," says Cicero, "that "Cotta may hold out Sardinia, as it is said he will: for "if so, how base will Cato's act appear †."

In these circumstances, while he was preparing all things for his voyage, and waiting only for a fair wind, he removed from his Cuman to his Pompeian villa beyond Naples, which, not being so commodious for an

* Servii consilio nihil expeditur. Omnes captiones in omni sententia occurrunt. Unum C. Marcello cognovi timidiorem, quem consulem fuisse pœnitet—qui etiam Antonium confirmasse dicitur, ut me impediret, quo ipse, credo, honestius.—Ad Att. x. 15.

† Curio mecum vixit—Siciliæ diffidens, si Pompeius navigare cœpisset. Ib. x. 7.

Curio—Pompeii classem timebat: quæ si esset, se de Sicilia abiturum. Ib. x. 4.

Cato qui Siciliam tenere nullo negotio potuit, et si tenuisset, omnes boni ad eum se contulissent, Syracusis profectus est a. d. Kal. Maii—utinam, quod aiunt, Cotta Sardiniam teneat. Est enim rumor. O, si id fuerit, turpem Catonem! Ib. x. 16.

A. Urb. 704. Cic. 58. Cos.—C. Claudius Marcellus. L. Corn. Lentulus Crus.

embankment, would help to lessen the suspicion of his intended flight *. Here he received a private message from the officers of three cohorts, which were in garrison at Pompeii, to beg leave to wait upon him the day following, in order to deliver up their troops and the town into his hands; but, instead of listening to the overture, he slipt away the next morning before day, to avoid seeing them; since such a force, or a greater, could be of no service there; and he was apprehensive that it was designed only as a trap for him †.

Thus pursuing at last the result of all his deliberations, and preferring the consideration of duty to that of his safety, he embarked to follow Pompey; and though, from the nature of the war, he plainly saw and declared, 'that it was a contention only for rule; 'yet he thought Pompey the modester, honester, and 'juster king of the two; and, if he did not conquer, 'that the very name of the Roman people would be 'extinguished; or, if he did, that it would still be af-'ter the manner and pattern of Sylla, with much cruel-'ty and blood ‡." With these melancholy reflections

* Ego ut minuerim suspicionem profectionis—profectus sum in Pompeianum a. d. IIII Id. Ut ibi essem, dum quæ ad navigandum opus essent, pararentur. Ib.

† Cum ad villam venissem, ventum est ad me centuriones trium cohortium, quæ Pompeiis sunt, me velle postridie; hæc mecum Ninius noster, velle eos mihi se, et oppidum tradere. At ego tibi postridie a villa ante lucem, ut me omnino illi non viderent. Quid enim erat in tribus cohortibus? quid si plures, quo apparatu?—et simul fieri poterat, ut tentaremur. Omnem igitur suspicionem sustuli. Ibid.

‡ Dominatio quæsita ab utroque est. Ib. 8. 11.

A. Urb. 704. Cic. 58. Coss.—C. Claudius Marcellus. L. Corn. Lentulus Crus.

he set sail on the eleventh of June ‡, "rushing," as he tells us, "knowingly and willingly into voluntary de-"struction, and doing just what cattle do, when driven "by any force, running after those of his own kind; "for as the ox," says he, "follows the herd, so I fol-"low the honest, or those at least who are called so, "though it be to certain ruin *." As to his brother Quintus, he was so far from desiring his company in this flight, that he pressed him to stay in Italy on account of his personal obligations to Cæsar, and the relation that he had born to him: yet Quintus would not be left behind; but declared, "that he would "follow his brother, whithersoever he should lead, and

Regnandi contentio est; in qua pulsus est modestior rex et probior et integrior; et is, qui nisi vincit, nomen populi Romani deleatur necesse est; sin autem vincit, Syllano more, exemploque vincet. Ib. x. 7.

‡ A. d. III. Id. Jun. Ep. fam. 14. 7. It is remarkable, that among the reasons which detained Cicero in Italy longer than he intended, he mentions the *tempestuous winds of the equinox, and the calms that succeeded it*; yet this was about the end of May [Ad Att. x. 17, 18.] which shews what a strange confusion there was at this time in the Roman Kalendar; and what necessity for that reformation of it which Cæsar soon after effected, in order to reduce the computation of their months to the regular course of the seasons, from which they had so widely varied. Some of the commentators, for want of attending to this cause, are strangely puzzled to account for the difficulty; and one of them ridiculously imagines, that, by *the equinox*, Cicero covertly means Antony, who used to make *his days and nights equal*, by sleeping as much as he waked.

* Ego prudens ac sciens ad pestem ante oculos positam tum profectus. Ep. fam. 6. 6.

Prudens et sciens tanquam ad interitum ruerem voluntarium, [Pro M. Marcel. 5.] quid ergo acturus es? idem, quod pecudes, quæ dispulsæ sui generis sequuntur greges. Ut bos armenta, sic ego bonos viros, aut eos, quicunque dicentur boni, sequar, etiam si ruent. Ad. Att. 7. 7.

"think that party right which he should chuse for "him *."

What gave Cicero a more particular abhorrence of the war into which he was entering, was, to see Pompey, on all occasions, affecting to imitate Sylla, and to hear him often say, with a superior air, "could Sylla "do such a thing, and cannot I do it?"—as if determined to make Sylla's victory the pattern of his own. He was now in much the same circumstances in which that conqueror had once been; sustaining the cause of the senate by his arms, and treated as an enemy by those who possessed Italy; and, as he flattered himself with the same good fortune, so he was meditating the same kind of return, and threatening ruin and proscription to all his enemies. This frequently shocked Cicero, as we find from many of his letters, to consider with what cruelty and effusion of civil blood the success even of his friends would certainly be attended †.

We have no account of the manner and circumstances of his voyage, or by what course he steered towards Dyrrhachium: for, after his leaving Italy, all his correspondence with it was in great measure cut

* Fratrem—socium hujus fortunæ esse non erat æquum: cui magis etiam Cæsar irascetur. Sed impetrare non possum, ut maneat [ib. 9. 1.] frater, quicquid mihi placeret, id rectum se putare aiebat. Ib. 9. 6.

† Quam crebro illud, *Sylla potuit, ego non potero?*
In Syllaturit animus ejus, et *proscripturit* diu. [Ad Att. 9. x.] Cnæus noster *Syllani regni* similitudinem concupivit, εἴδως σοι λέγω, [ib. 7.] ut non nominatim sed generatim proscriptio esset informata. Ib. xi. 6.

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off, so that from June, in which he sailed, we find an intermission of about nine months in the series of his letters, and not more than four of them written to Atticus during the continuance of the war *. He arrived however safely in Pompey's camp with his son, his brother, and nephew, committing the fortunes of the whole family to the issue of that cause: and, that he might make some amends for coming so late, and gain the greater authority with his party, he furnished Pompey, who was in great want of money, with a large sum, out of his own stock, for the public service †.

But, as he entered into the war with reluctance, so he found nothing in it but what increased his disgust: disliked every thing which they had done, or designed to do; saw nothing good amongst them but their cause; and that their own councils would ruin them: for, all the chiefs of the party, trusting to the superior fame and authority of Pompey, and dazzled with the splendour of the troops, which the princes of the East had sent to their assistance, assured themselves of victory; and, without reflecting on the different characters of the two armies, would hear of nothing but fighting. It was Cicero's business, therefore, to discourage this wild spirit, and to represent the hazard of the war, the force of Cæsar, and the probability of his beating them, if ever they ventured a battle with

* Vid. Ad Att. xi. 1, 2, 3. 4.

† Etsi egeo rebus omnibus, quod is quoque in angustiis est, quicum sumus, cui magnam dedimus pecuniam mutuam, opinantes nobis, constitutis rebus, eam rem etiam honori fore, [ib. xi. 3.] si quas habuimus facultates, eas Pompeio tum, cum id videbamur sapienter facere, detulimus. Ib. 13.

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him: but all his remonstrances were slighted, and he himself reproached as timorous and cowardly, by the other leaders; though nothing afterwards happened to them but what he had often foretold *. This soon made him repent of embarking in a cause so imprudently conducted; and it added to his discontent, to find himself even blamed by Cato for coming to them at all; and deserting that neutral post, which might have given him the better opportunity of bringing about an accommodation †.

In this disagreeable situation he declined all employment, and finding his counsels wholly slighted, resumed his usual way of raillery, and, what he could not dissuade by his authority, endeavoured to make ridiculous by his jests. This gave occasion afterwards to Antony, in a speech to the senate, to censure the levity of his behaviour in the calamity of a civil war, and to reflect, not only upon his fears, but the unseasonableness also of his jokes: to which Cicero answered, "that though their camp indeed was full of care "and anxiety, yet, in circumstances the most turbu-"lent, there were certain moments of relaxation, which "all men, who had any humanity in them, were glad "to lay hold on: but while Antony reproached him

* Quippe mihi nec quæ accidunt, nec quæ aguntur, ullo modo probantur, [Ib. xi. 4.] nihil boni præter causam, [Ep. Fam. 7. 3.] itaque ego, quem tum fortes illi viri, Domitii et Lentuli, timidum esse dicebant, &c. [Ib. 6. 21.] quo quidem in bello, nihil adversi accidit non prædicente me. Ib. 6.

† Cujus me mei facta pœnituit, non tam propter periculum meum quam propter vitia multa, quæ ibi offendi, quo veneram. Ib. 7. 3. Plutar. in Cic.

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" both with dejection and joking at the same time, it " was a sure proof that he had observed a proper tem- " per and moderation in them both ‡."

Young Brutus was also in Pompey's camp, where he distinguished himself by a peculiar zeal: which Cicero mentions as the more remarkable, because he had always professed an irreconcileable hatred to Pompey, as to the murderer of his father *. But he followed the cause, not the man; sacrificing all his resentments to the service of his country, and looking now upon Pompey as the general of the republic, and the defender of their common liberty.

During the course of this war, Cicero never speaks of Pompey's conduct but as a perpetual succession of

‡ Ipse fugi adhuc omne munus, eo magis, quod ita nihil poterat agi, ut mihi et meis rebus aptum esset. [Att. xi. 4.] Quod autem idem mœstitiam meam reprehendit idem jocum; magno argumento est, me in utroque fuisse moderatum. Phil. 2. 16.

Some of Cicero's sayings on this occasion are preserved by different writers. When Pompey put him in mind of his coming so late to them; " how can I come late," said he, " when I find no- " thing in readiness among you?" and upon Pompey's asking him sarcastically, where his son-in-law Dolabella was; " he is with your " father-in-law," replied he. To a person newly arrived from Italy, and informing them of a strong report at Rome, that Pompey was blocked up by Cæsar; " and you sailed hither, therefore," said he, " that you might see it with your own eyes." And even after their defeat, when Nonnius was exhorting them to courage, because there were seven eagles still left in Pompey's camp: " You encou- " rage well," said he, " if we were to fight with jack-daws." By the frequency of these splenetic jokes, he is said to have provoked Pompey so far as to tell him, " I wish that you would go over to " the other side, that you may begin to fear us." Vid. Macrob. Saturn. 2. 3. Plutar. in Cicer.

* Brutus amicus in causa versatur acriter. Ad Att. xi. 4. Vid. Plutar. in Brut. et Pomp.

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blunders. His first step of leaving Italy was condemned indeed by all, but particularly by Atticus; yet to us at this distance, it seems not only to have been prudent, but necessary †. What shocked people so much at it, was the discovery that it made of his weakness and want of preparation; and, after the security which he had all long affected, and the defiance so oft declared against his adversary, it made him appear contemptible to run away at last on the first approach of Cæsar: "Did you ever see, (says Cælius,) a more silly creature than this Pompey of yours; who, after raising all this bustle, is found to be such a trifler? or did you ever read or hear of a man more vigorous in action, more temperate in victory, than our Cæsar ‖?"

Pompey had left Italy about a year before Cæsar found it convenient to go after him; during which time, he had gathered a vast fleet from all the maritime states and cities dependent on the empire, without making any use of it to distress an enemy who had no fleet at all: he suffered Sicily and Sardinia to fall into Cæsar's hands without a blow; and the important town of Marseilles, after having endured a

† Quorum dux quam ἀστρατηγητος, tu quoque animadvertis, cui ne Picena quidem nota sunt: quam autem sine consilio, res testis. Ad Att. 7. 13.

Si iste Italiam relinquet, faciet omnino male, et ut ego existimo ἀλογίστως, &c. Ib. 9. 10.

‖ Ecquando tu hominem ineptiorem quam tuum Cn. Pompeium vidisti? qui tantas turbas, qui tam nugax esset commorit? ecquem autem Cæsare nostro acriorem in rebus agendis, eodem in victoria temperatiorem, aut legisti aut audisti? Ep. fam. 8. 15.

A. Urb. 704. Cic. 58. Coss.—C. Claudius Marcellus. L. Corn. Lentulus Crus.

long siege for its affection to his cause: but his capital error was the giving up Spain, and neglecting to put himself at the head of the best army that he had, in a country devoted to his interests, and commodious for the operations of his naval force: when Cicero first heard of this resolution, he thought it monstrous *; and in truth, the committing that war to his lieutenants against the superior genius and ascendant of Cæsar, was the ruin of his best troops and hopes at once.

Some have been apt to wonder, why Cæsar, after forcing Pompey out of Italy, instead of crossing the sea after him, when he was in no condition to resist, should leave him for the space of a year to gather armies and fleets at his leisure, and strengthen himself with all the forces of the east. But Cæsar had good reasons for what he did: he knew, that all the troops, which could be drawn together from those countries, were no match for his; that if he had pursued him directly to Greece, and driven him out of it, as he had done out of Italy, he should have driven him probably into Spain, where of all places he desired the least to meet him; and where in all events Pompey had a sure resource, as long as it was possessed by a firm and veteran army; which it was Cæsar's business therefore to destroy, in the first place, or he could expect

* Omnis hæc classis Alexandria, Colchis, Tyrio, Sidone, Cypro, Pamphilia, Lycia, Rhodo, &c. Ad intercludendos, Italiæ commeatus—comparatur—Ad Att. 9. 9.

Nunciat Ægyptum—cogitare: Hispaniam abjecisse. Monstra narrant——Ad Att. 9. 11.

A. Urb. 704. Cic. 58. Cos.—C. Claudius Marcellus. L. Corn. Lentulus Crus.

no success from the war; and there was no opportunity of destroying it so favourable, as when Pompey himself was at such a distance from it. This was the reason of his marching back with so much expedition to find, as he said, "an army without a general, and "return to a general without an army *." The event shewed, that he judged right; for within forty days from the first sight of his enemy in Spain, he made himself master of the whole province ‡.

A. Urb. 705. Cic. 59. Cos.—C. Julius Cæsar II. P. Servilius Vatia Isauricus.

AFTER the reduction of Spain, he was created *Dictator* by M. Lepidus, then prætor at Rome, and by his dictatorial power declared himself consul, with P. Servilius Isauricus; but he was no sooner invested with this office, than he marched to Brundisium, and embarked on the fourth of January, in order to find out Pompey. The carrying about in his person the supreme dignity of the empire, added no small authority to his cause, by making the cities and states abroad the more cautious of acting against him, or giving them a better pretence at least for opening their gates to the consul of Rome——†. Cicero, all this while, despairing of any good from the war, had been using all his

* Ire se ad exercitum sine duce, et inde reversurum ad ducem sine exercitu. Sueton. J. Cæs. 34.

‡ Cæs. Comment. l. 2.

† Illi se daturos negare, neque portas consuli præclusuros. Cæs. Comm. l. 3. 590.

A. Urb. 705. Cic. 59. Coss.—C. Julius Cæsar II. P. Servilius Vatia Isauricus.

endeavours to dispose his friends to peace, till Pompey forbade any farther mention of it in council, declaring, "that he valued neither life nor country, for which "he must be indebted to Cæsar, as the world must take "the case to be, should he accept any conditions in "his present circumstances †." He was sensible that he had hitherto been acting a contemptible part, and done nothing equal to the great name which he had acquired in the world; and was determined therefore, to retrieve his honour before he laid down his arms, by the destruction of his adversary, or to perish in the attempt.

During the blockade of Dyrrhachium, it was a current notion in Cæsar's army, that Pompey would draw off his troops into his ships, and remove the war to some distant place. Upon this Dolabella, who was with Cæsar, sent a letter to Cicero into Pompey's camp, exhorting him, "that if Pompey should be driven from "these quarters, to seek some other country, he would "sit down quietly at Athens, or any city remote from "the war: that it was time to think of his own safety, "and be a friend to himself, rather than to others: "that he had now fully satisfied his duty, his friend-"ship, and his engagements to that party, which he "had espoused in the republic: that there was no-

† Desperans victoriam, primum cœpi suadere pacem, cujus fueram semper auctor; deinde cum ab ea sententia Pompeius valde abhorreret. Ep. fam. 7. 3.

Vibullius——de Cæsaris mandatis agere instituit; eum ingressum in sermonem Pompeius interpellavit, et loqui plura prohibuit. Quid mihi, inquit, aut vita aut civitate opus est, quam beneficio Cæsaris habere videbor? Cæs. Comm. 596.

A. Urb. 705. Cic. 59. Coss.—C Julius Cæsar II. P. Servilius Vatia Isauricus.

" thing left, but to be where the republic itself now " was, rather than by following that ancient one to be " in none at all——and that Cæsar would readily ap- " prove this conduct ‡ :" but the war took a quite different turn; and, instead of Pompey's running away from Dyrrhachium, Cæsar, by an unexpected defeat before it, was forced to retire the first, and leave to Pompey the credit of pursuing him, as in a kind of flight towards Macedonia.

While the two armies were thus employed, Cælius, now prætor at Rome, trusting to his power, and the success of his party, began to publish several violent and odious laws, especially one for the cancelling of all debts ||. This raised a great flame in the city, till he was over-ruled and deposed from his magistracy by the consul Servilius, and the senate: but being made desperate by this affront, he recalled Milo from his exile at Marseilles, whom Cæsar had refused to restore; and, in concert with him, resolved to raise some public commotion in favour of Pompey. In this disposition he wrote his last letter to Cicero; in which, after an account of his conversion, and the service which he was projecting, " You are asleep," says he, " and do not know " how open and weak we are here: what are you do- " ing? Are you waiting for a battle, which is sure to

‡ Illud autem a te peto, ut, si jam ille evitaverit hoc periculum, et se abdiderit in classem, tu tuis rebus consulas: et aliquando tibi potius quam cuivis sis amicus. Satis factum est jam a te vel officio, vel familiaritati; satisfactum etiam partibus, et ei reipub. quam tu probabas. Reliquum est, ubi nunc est respub. ibi simus potius, quam dum veterem illam sequamur, simus in nulla. Ep. fam. 9. 9.

|| Cæs. Comment. 3. 600.

A. Urb. 705. Cic. 59. Coss.—C. Julius Cæsar II. P. Servilius Vatia Isauricus.

" be against you? I am not acquainted with your " troops; but ours have been long used to fight hard; " and to bear cold and hunger with ease*." But this disturbance, which began to alarm all Italy, was soon ended by the death of the authors of it, Milo and Cælius, who perished in their rash attempt, being destroyed by the soldiers whom they were endeavouring to debauch. They had both attached themselves very early to the interests and the authority of Cicero, and were qualified, by their parts and fortunes, to have, made a principal figure in the republic, if they had continued in those sentiments, and adhered to his advice; but their passions, pleasures, and ambition got the ascendant, and, through a factious and turbulent life, hurried them on to this wretched fate.

All thoughts of peace being now laid aside, Cicero's next advice to Pompey was, to draw the war into length, nor ever to give Cæsar the opportunity of a battle. Pompey approved this counsel, and pursued it for some time, till he gained the advantage abovementioned before Dyrrhachium; which gave him such a confidence in his own troops, and such a contempt of Cæsar's, " that from this moment," says Cicero, " this great man ceased to be a general; opposed a " raw, new-raised army, to the most robust and vete-

* Vos dormitis, nec hæc adhuc mihi videmini intelligere, quam nos pateamus, et quam simus imbecilli—quid istic facitis? prælium expectatis, quod firmissimum est? vestras copias non novi. Nostri valde depugnare, et facile algere et esurire consueverunt. Ep. fam. 8. 17.

A. Urb. 705. Cic. 59. Cos.—C. Julius Cæsar II. P. Servilius Vatia Isauricus.

"ran legions; was shamefully beaten; and, with the "loss of his camp, forced to fly away alone †."

Had Cicero's advice been followed, Cæsar must inevitably have been ruined: for Pompey's fleet would have cut off all supplies from him by sea; and it was not possible for him to subsist long at land; while an enemy, superior in number of troops, was perpetually harassing him, and wasting the country: and the report every where spread of his flying from Dyrrhachium before a victorious army, which was pursuing him, made his march every way the more difficult, and the people of the country more shy of assisting him; till the despicable figure that he seemed to make, raised such an impatience for fighting, and assurance of victory in the Pompeian chiefs, as drew them to the fatal resolution of giving him battle at Pharsalia. There was another motive likewise suggested to us by Cicero, which seems to have had no small influence in determining Pompey to this unhappy step; his superstitious regard to omens, and the admonitions of diviners, to which his nature was strongly addicted. The haruspices were all on his side, and flattered him with every thing that was prosperous: and, besides those in his own camp, the whole fraternity of them at Rome were sending him perpetual accounts of the fortunate

† Cum ab ea sententia Pompeius valde abhorreret, suadere institui, ut bellum duceret: hoc interdum probabat et in ea sententia videbatur fore, et fuisset fortasse, nisi quadam ex pugna cœpisset militibus suis confidere. Ex eo tempore vir ille summus nullus Imperator fuit: victus turpissime, amissis etiam castris, solus fugit. Ep. fam. 7. 3.

A. Urb. 705. Cic. 59. Coss.—C. Julius Cæsar II. P. Servilius Vatia Isauricus.

and auspicious significations which they had observed in the entrails of their victims ‡.

But after all, it must needs be owned, that Pompey had a very difficult part to act, and much less liberty of executing what he himself approved, than in all the other wars in which he had been engaged. In his wars against foreign enemies, his power was absolute, and all his motions depended on his own will; but in this, besides several kings and princes of the east, who attended him in person, he had with him in his camp almost all the chief magistrates and senators of Rome; men of equal dignity with himself, who had commanded armies, and obtained triumphs, and expected a share in all his councils, and that, in their common danger, no step should be taken, but by their common advice: and as they were under no engagement to his cause, but what was voluntary, so they were necessarily to be humoured, lest through disgust they should desert it. Now these were all uneasy in their present situation, and longed to be at home in the enjoyment of their estates and honours; and having a confidence of victory from the number of their troops, and the reputation of their leader, were perpetually teizing Pompey to the resolution of a battle; charging him with a design to protract the war, for the sake of perpetuating his authority; and calling him another Agamemnon, who was so proud of holding so many

‡ Hoc civili bello, Dii immortales!——quæ nobis in Græciam Româ responsa Haruspicum missa sunt? quæ dicta Pompeio?—— etenim ille admodum extis et ostentis movebatur. De Div. 2. 24.

A. Urb. 705. Cic. 59. Coss.—C. Julius Cæsar II. P. Servilius Vatia Isauricus.

kings and generals under his command *; till, being unable to withstand their reproaches any longer, he was driven, by a kind of shame, and against his judgment, to the experiment of a decisive action.

Cæsar was sensible of Pompey's difficulty, and persuaded that he could not support the indignity of shewing himself afraid of fighting; and from that assurance exposed himself often more rashly than prudence would otherwise justify: for his besieging Pompey at Dyrrhachium, who was master of the sea, which supplied every thing to him that was wanted, while his own army was starving at land; and the attempt to block up entrenchments so widely extended, with much smaller numbers than were employed to defend them, must needs be thought rash and extravagant, were it not for the expectation of drawing Pompey by it to a general engagement: for when he could not gain that end, his perseverance in the siege had like to have ruined him, and would inevitably have done so, if he had not quitted it, as he himself afterwards owned †.

* Καὶ ἐπὶ τῶδε αὐτὸν βασιλέα καὶ Αγαμέμνονα καλούντων, ὅτι κἀκεῖνος Βασιλέων διὰ τὸν πολέμον ἦρχεν; ἐξέστη τῶν οἰκείων λογισμων, καὶ ἐνέδωκεν αὐτοῖς. App. p. 470.

Milites otium, socii moram, principes ambitum ducis increpabant. For. l. 4. 2. Dio. p. 185. Plut. in Pomp.

† Cæsar pro natura ferox, et conficiendæ rei cupidus, ostentare aciem, provocare, lacessere; nunc obsidione castrorum, quæ sedecim millium vallo obduxerat; (sed quid his obesset obsidio, qui patente mari omnibus copiis abundarent?) nunc expugnatione Dyrrhachii irrita, &c. Flor. l. 4. c. 2.

ὡμολόγεί τε μεταγινώσκειν πρὸς Δυῤῥαχίῳ στρατοπεδεύσας, &c. App. p. 468.

A. Urb. 705. Cic. 59. Coss.—C. Julius Cæsar II. P. Servilius Vatia Isauricus.

to the hazard even of his life ‡. But the wretched news from Pharsalia threw them all into such a consternation, that they presently took shipping, and dispersed themselves severally, as their hopes or inclinations led them, into the different provinces of the empire *. The greatest part who were determined to renew the war, went directly into Afric, the general rendezvous of their scattered forces; whilst others, who were disposed to expect the farther issue of things, and take such measures as fortune offered, retired to Achaia: but Cicero was resolved to make this the end of the war to himself; and recommended the same conduct to his friends; declaring, that as they had been no match for Cæsar, when entire, they could not hope to beat him, when shattered and broken †: and so, after a miserable campaign of about eighteen months, he committed himself without hesitation to the mercy of the conqueror, and landed again at Brundisium about the end of October.

‡ Multa de pace dixi, et in ipso bello, eadem etiam cum capitis mei periculo sensi. Pro Marcell. 5.

* Paucis sane post diebus ex Pharsalica fuga venisse Labienum: qui cum interitum exercitus nunciavisset—naves subito perterriti conscendistis. De Divin. 1. 32.

† Hunc ego belli mihi finem feci, nec putavi, cum integri pares non fuissemus, fractos superiores fore. Ep. fam. 7. 3.

SECTION VIII.

A. Urb. 706. Cic. 60. Cos.—C. Jul. Cæsar Dictat. II. M. Antonius Mag. Equit.

CICERO no sooner returned to Italy, than he began to reflect, that he had been too hasty in coming home, before the war was determined, and without any invitation from the conqueror; and, in a time of that general licence, had reason to apprehend some insult from the soldiers, if he ventured to appear in public with his fasces and laurel; and yet to drop them, would be a diminution of that honour which he had received from the Roman people, and the acknowledgement of a power superior to the laws: he condemned himself, therefore, for not continuing abroad, in some convenient place of retirement, till he had been sent for, or things were better settled *. What gave him the greater reason to repent of this step was, a message that he received from Antony, who governed all in Cæsar's absence, and with the same churlish spirit with which he would have held him before in Italy against his will, seemed now disposed to drive

* Ego vero et incaute, ut scribis, et celerius quam oportuit, feci, &c. Ad Att. xi. 9.

Quare voluntatis me meæ nunquam pœnitebit, consilii pœnitet. In oppido aliquo mallem resedisse, quoad arcesserer. Minus sermonis subiissem: minus accepissem doloris: ipsum hoc non me angeret. Brundisii jacere in omnes partes est molestum. Propius accedere, ut suades, quomodo sine lictoribus, quos populus dedit, possum? qui mihi incolumi adimi non possunt. Ad Att. xi. 6.

A. Urb. 706. Cic. 60. Cos.—C. Jul. Cæsar Dictat. II. M. Antonius Mag. Equit.

him out of it; for he sent him the copy of a letter from Cæsar, in which Cæsar signified, "that he had "heard that Cato and Metellus were at Rome, and "appeared openly there, which might occasion some "disturbance: wherefore he strictly enjoined, that "none should be suffered to come to Italy without a "special licence from himself. Antony therefore de- "sired Cicero to excuse him, since he could not help "obeying Cæsar's commands: but Cicero sent L. "Lamia to assure him, that Cæsar had ordered Dola- "bella to write to him to come to Italy as soon as he "pleased; and that he came upon the authority of "Dolabella's letter:" so that Antony, in the edict which he published to exclude the Pompeians from Italy, excepted Cicero by name; which added still to his mortification, since all his desire was to be connived at only, or tacitly permitted, without being personally distinguished from the rest of his party †.

But he had some other grievances of a domestic kind, which concurred also to make him unhappy; his brother Quintus, with his son, after their escape from Pharsalia, followed Cæsar into Asia, to obtain their pardon from him in person. Quintus had particular reason to be afraid of his resentment, on account of the relation which he had borne to him, as one of

† Sed quid ego de lictoribus, qui pæne ex Italia decedere sim jussus? nam ad me misit Antonius exemplum Cæsaris ad se literarum; in quibus erat, se audisse, Catonem et L. Metellum in Italiam venisse, Romæ ut essent palam, &c. Tum ille edixit ita, ut me exciperet et Lælium nominatim. Quod sane nollem. Poterat enim sine nomine, re ipsa excipi. O multas graves offensiones!—Ib. 7.

A. Urb. 706. Cic. 60. Coss.—C. Jul. Cæsar Dictat. II. M. Antonius Mag. Equit.

his lieutenants in Gaul, where he had been treated by him with great generosity; so that Cicero himself would have dissuaded him from going over to Pompey, but could not prevail; yet, in this common calamity, Quintus, in order to make his own peace the more easily, resolved to throw all the blame upon his brother, and, for that purpose, made it the subject of all his letters and speeches to Cæsar's friends, to rail at him in a manner the most inhuman.

Cicero was informed of this from all quarters, and that young Quintus, who was sent before towards Cæsar, had read an oration to his friends, which he had prepared to speak to him, against his uncle. Nothing, as Cicero says, ever happened more shocking to him; and, though he had no small diffidence of Cæsar's inclination, and many enemies labouring to do him ill offices, yet his greatest concern was, lest his brother and nephew should hurt themselves rather than him, by their perfidy ‡: for, under all the sense of this provocation, his behaviour was just the reverse of theirs; and having been informed that Cæsar, in a certain conversation, had charged his brother with be-

‡ Quintus misit filium non solum sui deprecatorem, sed etiam accusatorem mei, neque vero desistet, ubicunque est omnia in me maledicta conferre. Nihil mihi unquam tam incredibile accidit, nihil in his malis tam acerbum. Ib. 8.

Epistolas mihi legerunt plenas omnium in me probrorum, ipsi enim illi putavi perniciosum fore, si ejus hoc tantum scelus percrebuisset. Ib. 9.

Quintum filium, volumen sibi ostendisse orationis, quam apud Cæsarem contra me esset habiturus, multa postea patris, consimili scelere secum quintum patrem esse locutum. Ib. 10.

A. Urb. 706. Cic. 60. Coss.—C. Jul. Cæsar Dictat. II. M. Antonius Mag. Equit.

ing the author of their going away to Pompey, he took occasion to write to him in the following terms:

"As for my brother, I am not less solicitous for his "safety than my own; but, in my present situation, "dare not venture to recommend him to you; all "that I can pretend to, is, to beg that you will not "believe him to have ever done any thing towards "obstructing my good offices and affection to you; "but rather, that he was always the adviser of our "union, and the companion, not the leader of my "voyage: wherefore, in all other respects, I leave it "to you to treat him, as your own humanity, and his "friendship with you, require; but I entreat you, "in the most pressing manner, that I may not be the "cause of hurting him with you, on any account "whatsoever §."

He found himself likewise at this time in some distress for want of money, which, in that season of public distraction, it was very difficult to procure, either by borrowing or selling: the sum, which he advanced to Pompey, had drained him: and his wife, by her indulgence to stewards, and favourite servants, had made great waste of what was left at home; and, instead of saving any thing from their rents, had plunged him deeply into debt; so that Atticus's purse was the chief fund which he had to trust to for his present support †.

§ Cum mihi literæ a Balbo minore missæ essent, Cæsarem existimare, Quintum fratrem lituum meæ profectionis fuisse, sic enim scripsit. Ad Att. xi. 12.

† Velim consideres ut sit, unde nobis suppeditentur sumtus necessarii.

A. Urb. 706. Cic. 60. Coss—C. Julius Cæs. Dictator II. M. Anton. Mag. Equit.

The conduct of Dolabella was a farther mortification to him; who, by the fiction of an adoption into a plebeian family, had obtained the tribunate this year, and was raising great tumults and disorders in Rome, by a law, which he published, to expunge all debts. Laws of that kind had been often attempted by desperate or ambitious magistrates; but were always detested by the better sort, and particularly by Cicero, who treats them as pernicious to the peace and prosperity of states, and sapping the very foundation of civil society, by destroying all faith and credit among men *. No wonder therefore that we find him taking this affair so much to heart, and complaining so heavily, in many of his letters to Atticus, of the famed acts of his son-in-law, as an additional source of affliction and disgrace to him ‡. Dolabella was greatly embarrassed in his fortunes, and, while he was with Cæsar abroad, seems to have left his wife destitute of necessaries at home, and forced to recur to her father for her subsistence. Cicero likewise, either through the difficulty of the times, or for want of a sufficient settlement on Dolabella's part, had not yet paid all

sarii. Si quas habuimus facultates, eas Pompeio, tum, cum videdebamur sapienter facere, detulimus. Ib. 15, 2, 22, &c.

* Nec enim ulla res vehementius rempub. continet, quam fides; quæ esse nulla potest, nisi erit necessaria solutio retum creditarum, &c. de Offic. 2. 24.

‡ Quod me audis fractiorem esse animo; quid putas, cum videas accessisse ad superiores ægritudines præclaras generi actiones?—Ad Att. 11. 12.

Etsi omnium conspectum horreo, præsertim hoc genero—Ib. 14, 15, &c.

A. Urb. 706. Cic. 60. Cos.—C. Jul. Cæs. Dictat. II. M. Antonius Mag. Equit.

her fortune; which it was usual to do at three different payments, within a time limited by law: he had discharged the two first, and was now preparing to make the third payment, which he frequently and pressingly recommends to the care of Atticus ‖. But Dolabella's whole life and character were so entirely contrary to the manners and temper both of Cicero and Tullia, that a divorce ensued between them not long after, though the account of it is delivered so darkly, that it is hard to say at what time or from what side it first rose.

In these circumstances Tullia paid her father a visit at Brundisium on the thirteenth of June: but his great love for her, made their meeting only the more afflicting to him in that abject state of their fortunes; "I was so far," says he, "from taking that pleasure "which I ought to have done from the virtue, humanity, and piety of an excellent daughter, that I was "exceedingly grieved to see so deserving a creature "in such an unhappy condition, not by her own, but "wholly by my fault: I saw no reason therefore for "keeping her longer here, in this our common affliction; but was willing to send her back to her mother as soon as she would consent to it *."

‖ De dote, quod scribis, per omnes deos te obtestor, ut totam rem suscipias, et illam miseram mea culpa——tueare meis opibus, si quæ sunt; tuis, quibus tibi non molestum erit facultatibus. Ib. II. 2.

De pensione altera, oro te, omni cura considera quid faciendum sit.—Ib. II. 4.

* Tullia mea ad me venit prid. id Jun.—Ego autem ex ipsius virtute,

A. Urb. 706. Cic. 60. Cos.—C. Julius Cæs. Dictator II. M. Anton. Mag. Equit.

At Brundisium he received the news of Pompey's death, which did not surprise him, as we find from the short reflection that he makes upon it: "As to "Pompey's end," (says he,) "I never had any doubt "about it: for the lost and desperate state of his af- "fairs had so possessed the minds of all the kings and "states abroad, that whithersoever he went, I took it "for granted that this would be his fate: I cannot "however help grieving at it; for I knew him to be "an honest, grave, and worthy man †."

This was the short and true character of the man from one who perfectly knew him; not heightened, as we sometimes find it, by the shining colours of his eloquence; nor depressed by the darker strokes of his resentment. Pompey had early acquired the surname of the *Great*, by that sort of merit which, from the constitution of the republic, necessarily made him great; a fame and success in war, superior to what Rome had ever known in the most celebrated of her generals. He had triumphed at three several times over the three different parts of the known world, Europe, Asia, Africa; and by his victories had almost doubled the extent, as well as the revenues, of the Roman dominion; for, as he declared to the people

virtute, humanitate, pietate non modo eam voluptatem non cepi, quam capere ex singulari filia debui, sed etiam incredibili sum dolore affectus, tale ingenium in tam misera fortuna versari.—Ib. 11, 17. Ep. fam. 14, 11.

† De Pompeii exitu mihi dubium nunquam fuit: tanta enim desperatio rerum ejus omnium regum et populorum animos occuparat, ut quocunque venisset, hoc putarem futurum. Non possum ejus casum non dolere: hominem enim integrum et castum et gravem cognovi. Ad Att. 11. 6.

A. Urb. 706. Cic. 60. Coss.—C. Jul. Cæsar Dictator II. M. Anton. Mag. Equit.

on his return from the Mithridatic war, "he had "found the lesser Asia the boundary, but left it the "middle of their Empire. He was about six years "older than Cæsar;" and while Cæsar, immersed in pleasures, oppressed with debts, and suspected by all honest men, was hardly able to shew his head; Pompey was flourishing in the height of power and glory, and by the consent of all parties placed at the head of the republic. This was the post that his ambition seemed to aim at, to be the first man in Rome; the *Leader*, not the *Tyrant* of his country: for he more than once had it in his power to have made himself the master of it without any risk; if his virtue, or his phlegm at least, had not restrained him: but he lived in a perpetual expectation of receiving, from the gift of the people, what he did not care to seize by force; and, by fomenting the disorders of the city, hoped to drive them to the necessity of creating him Dictator. It is an observation of all the historians, that while Cæsar made no difference of power, whether it was conferred or usurped: whether over those who loved, or those who feared him: Pompey seemed to value none but what was offered; nor to have any desire to govern, but with the good will of the governed. What leisure he found from his wars, he employed in the study of polite letters, and especially of eloquence, in which he would have acquired great fame, if his genius had not drawn him to the more dazzling glory of arms: yet he pleaded several causes with applause, in the defence of his friends and clients; and some of them in conjunction with Cicero. His language

A. Urb. 706. Cic. 60. Coss.—C. Jul. Cæsar Dictator II. M. Anton. Mag. Equit.

was copious and elevated; his sentiments just; his voice sweet; his action noble, and full of dignity. But his talents were better formed for arms, than the gown: for though in both, he observed the same discipline, a perpetual modesty, temperance, and gravity of outward behaviour; yet, in the licence of camps, the example was more rare and striking. His person was extremely graceful, and imprinting respect; yet with an air of reserve and haughtiness, which became the general better than the citizen. His parts were plausible, rather than great; specious rather than penetrating; and his view of politics but narrow; for his chief instrument of governing was, *dissimulation*; yet he had not always the art to conceal his real sentiments. As he was a better soldier than a statesman, so what he gained in the camp he usually lost in the city; and though adored, when abroad, was often affronted and mortified at home; till the imprudent opposition of the senate drove him to that alliance with Crassus and Cæsar, which proved fatal both to himself and the republic. He took in these two, not as the partners, but the ministers rather of his power; that, by giving them some share with him, he might make his own authority uncontroulable: he had no reason to apprehend that they could ever prove his rivals; since neither of them had any credit or character of that kind which alone could raise them above the laws; a superior fame and experience in war, with the militia of the empire at their devotion: all this was purely his own; till, by cherishing Cæsar, and throwing into his hands the only thing which he wanted, arms

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and military command, he made him at last too strong for himself, and never began to fear him, till it was too late: Cicero warmly dissuaded both his union and his breach with Cæsar; and, after the rupture, as warmly still the thought of giving him battle: if any of these counsels had been followed, Pompey had preserved his life and honour, and the republic its liberty. But he was urged to his fate by a natural superstition, and attention to those vain auguries with which he was flattered by all the haruspices: he had seen the same temper in Marius and Sylla, and observed the happy effects of it: but they assumed it only out of policy, he out of principle. They used it to animate their soldiers, when they had found a probable opportunity of fighting; but he, against all prudence and probability, was encouraged by it to fight to his own ruin. He saw all his mistakes at last, when it was out of his power to correct them; and in his wretched flight from Pharsalia was forced to confess, that he had trusted too much to his hopes; and that Cicero had judged better, and seen farther into things than he. The resolution of seeking refuge in Egypt, finished the sad catastrophe of this great man: the father of the reigning prince had been highly obliged to him for his protection at Rome, and restoration to his kingdom: and the son had sent a considerable fleet to his assistance in the present war: but, in this ruin of his fortunes, what gratitude was there to be expected from a court, governed by eunuchs and mercenary Greeks? all whose politics turned, not on the honour of the king, but the establishment of their

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own power; which was likely to be eclipsed by the admission of Pompey. How happy had it been for him to have died in that sickness, when all Italy was putting up vows and prayers for his safety? or, if he had fallen by chance of war on the plains of Pharsalia, in the defence of his country's liberty, he had died still glorious, though unfortunate: but, as if he had been reserved for an example of the instability of human greatness, he, who a few days before commanded kings and consuls, and all the noblest of Rome, was sentenced to die by a council of slaves; murdered by a base deserter; cast out naked and headless on the Egyptian strand; and when the whole earth, as Velleius says, had scarce been sufficient for his victories, could not find a spot upon it at last for a grave. His body was burnt on the shore by one of his freedmen, with the planks of an old fishing boat; and his ashes being conveyed to Rome, were deposited privately by his wife Cornelia in a vault of his Alban Villa. The Egyptians however raised a monument to him on the place, and adorned it with figures of brass, which being defaced afterwards by time, and buried almost in sand and rubbish, was sought out and restored by the Emperor Hadrian *.

* Hujus viri fastigium tantis auctibus fortuna extulit, ut primum ex Africa, iterum ex Europa, tertio ex Asia triumpharet: et quot partes terrarum Orbis sunt, totidem faceret monumenta victoriæ, [Vell. P. 2. 40.] Ut ipse in concione dixit.—Asiam ultimam provinciarum accepisse, mediam patriæ reddidisse. [Plin. H. 7. 26. Flor.

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On the news of Pompey's death, Cæsar was declared Dictator the second time in his absence, and M.

Flor. 3. 5.] Potentiæ quæ honoris causa ad eum deferretur, non ut ab eo occuparetur, cupidissimus. [Vell. P. 2. 29. Dio. p. 178.] Meus autem æqualis Cn. Pompeius, vir ad omnia summa natus, majorem dicendi gloriam habuisset, nisi eum majoris gloriæ cupiditas ad bellicas laudes abstraxisset. Erat oratione satis amplus: rem prudenter videbat: actio vero ejus habebat et in voce magnum splendorem, et in motu summam dignitatem. [Brut. 354. vid. it. pro Balbo. 1, 2.] Forma excellens, non ea, qua flos commendatur ætatis, sed ex dignitate constanti. [Vell. p. 2. 29.] Illud os probum, ipsumque honorem eximiæ frontis. [Plin. Hist. 7. 12.] Solet enim aliud sentire et loqui, neque tantum valere ingenio, ut non appareat quid cupiat. [Ep. fam. 8. 1.] Ille aluit, auxit, armavit——ille Galliæ ulterioris adjunctor—ille provinciæ propagator; ille absentis in omnibus adjutor. [ad Att. 8. 3.] aluerat Cæsarem, eundem repente timere cœperat. [ib. 8.] Ego nihil prætermisi, quantum facere, nitique potui, quin Pompeium a Cæsaris conjunctione avocarem——idem ego, cum jam omnes opes et suas et populi Romani Pompeius ad Cæsarem detulisset, seroque ea sentire cœpisset, quæ ego ante multo provideram—pacis, concordiæ, compositionis auctor esse non destiti: meaque illa vox ex nota multis, Utinam, Pompei, cum Cæsare societatem aut nunquam coisises, aut nunquam diremisses!—hæc mea, Antoni, et de Pompeio et de repub. consilia fuerunt: quæ si valuissent, respub. staret. [Phil. 2. 10.] Multi testes, me et initio ne conjungeret se cum Cæsare, monuisse Pompeium, et postea, ne sejungeret, &c. [Ep. fam. 6. 6.] Quid vero singularis ille vir ac pæne divinus de me senserit, sciunt, qui eum de Pharsalica fuga Paphum prosecuti sunt: nunquam ab eo mentio de me nisi honorifica—cum me vidisse plus fateretur, se speravisse meliora. [ib. 15.] Qui, si mortem tum obisset, in amplissimis fortunis occidisset; is propagatione vitæ quot, quantas, quam incredibiles hausit calamitates? [Tusc. disp. 1. 35.] In Pelusiaco littore, imperio vilissimi regis, consiliis spadonum, et ne quid malis desit, Septimii desertoris sui gladio trucidatur. [Flor. 4. 2. 52.] Ægyptum petere proposuit, memor beneficiorum quæ in patrem ejus Ptolemæi,—qui tum regnabat, contulerat—Princeps Romani nominis, imperio, arbitrioque Ægyptii mancipii jugulatus est—in tantum in illo viro a se discordante fortuna, ut cui modo ad victoriam terra defuerat, deesset ad sepulturam. Vell. Pat. 2. 54. vid. Dio. p. 186. it. Appian. 2. 481.

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Antony the master of his horse, who by virtue of that post governed all things absolutely in Italy. Cicero continued all the while at Brundisium, in a situation wholly disagreeable, and worse to him, he says, than any punishment: for the air of the place began to affect his health, and, to the uneasiness of mind, added an ill state of body *: yet, to move nearer towards Rome, without leave from his new masters, was not thought adviseable; nor did Antony encourage it, being pleased rather, we may believe, to see him well mortified; so that he had no hopes of any ease or comfort, but in the expectation of Cæsar's return: which made his stay in that place the more necessary, for the opportunity of paying his early compliments to him at landing.

But what gave him the greatest uneasiness was, to be held still in suspence, in what touched him the most nearly, the case of his own safety, and of Cæsar's disposition towards him; for, though all Cæsar's friends assured him, not only of pardon, but of all kind of favour; yet he had received no intimation of kindness from Cæsar himself, who was so embarrassed in Egypt, that he had no leisure to think of Italy, and did not so much

Provida Pompeio dederat Campania febres
Optandas. Sed multæ urbes, et publica vota
Vicerunt. Igitur fortuna ipsius et urbis
Servatum victo caput abstulit.

Juv. x. 283.

* Quodvis enim supplicium levius est hac permansione. Ad Att. xi. 18.

Jam enim corpore vix sustineo gravitatem hujus cœli, qui mihi laborem afferet, in dolore. Ib. 22.

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as write a letter thither from December to June; for, as he had rashly, and out of gaiety, as it were, involved himself there in a most desperate war, to the hazard of all his fortunes, he was ashamed, as Cicero says †, to write any thing about it, till he had extricated himself out of that difficulty.

His enemies, in the mean time, had greatly strengthened themselves in Afric, where P. Varus, who first seized it on the part of the republic, was supported by all the force of king Juba, Pompey's fast friend, and had reduced the whole province to his obedience; for Curio, after he had driven Cato out of Sicily, being ambitious to drive Varus also out of Afric, and having transported thither the best part of four legions, which Cæsar had committed to him, was, after some little success upon his landing, entirely defeated and destroyed, with his whole army, in an engagement with Sabura, king Juba's general.

Curio was a young nobleman of shining parts; admirably formed by nature to adorn the character in which his father and grandfather had flourished before him, of one of the principal orators of Rome. Upon his entrance into the forum, he was committed to the care of Cicero: but a natural propensity to pleasure, stimulated by the example and counsels of his perpetual companion Antony, hurried him into all the extravagance of expence and debauchery; for Antony,

† Ille enim ita videtur Alexandriam tenere, ut eum scribere etiam pudeat de illis rebus. Ib. xi. 1;.

Nec post idus Decemb. ab illo datas ullas literas. Ib. 17.

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who always wanted money, with which Curio abounded, was ever obsequious to his will, and ministering to his lusts, for the opportunity of gratifying his own: so that no boy, purchased for the use of lewdness, was more in a master's power, than Antony in Curio's. He was equally prodigal of his money and his modesty; and not only of his own, but other people's; so that Cicero, alluding to the infamous effeminacy of his life, calls him in one of his letters, Miss Curio. But when the father, by Cicero's advice, had obliged him by his paternal authority to quit the familiarity of Antony; he reformed his conduct, and, adhering to the intructions and maxims of Cicero, became the favourite of the city; the leader of the young nobility; and a warm asserter of the authority of the senate, against the power of the Triumvirate. After his father's death, upon his first taste of public honours, and admission into the senate, his ambition and thirst of popularity engaged him in so immense a prodigality, that, to supply the magnificence of his shews, and plays, with which he entertained the city, he was soon driven to the necessity of selling himself to Cæsar; having no revenue left, as Pliny says, but from the discord of his citizens. For this he is considered commonly by the old writers, as the chief instrument, and the trumpet, as it were, of the civil war; in which he justly fell the first victim: yet, after all his luxury and debauch, fought and died with a courage truly Roman; which would have merited a better fate, if it had been employed in a better cause: for, upon the loss of the battle, and his best troops, being admonished by his friends to save-

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himself by flight, he answered, that, after losing an army, which had been committed to him by Cæsar, he could never shew his face to him again; and so continued fighting, till he was killed among the last of his soldiers *.

Curio's death happened before the battle of Pharsalia, while Cæsar was engaged in Spain †: by which means Afric fell entirely into the hands of the Pompeians; and became the general rendezvous of all that party; hither Scipio, Cato, and Labienus, conveyed the remains of their scattered troops from Greece, as Afranius and Petreius likewise did from Spain; till

* *Haud alium tanta civem tulit indole Roma.* Lucan 4. 814.

Una familia Curionem, in qua tres continua serie oratores extiterunt. Plin. H. 7. 41.

Naturam habuit admirabilem ad dicendum. Brut. 406.

Nemo unquam puer, emptus libidinis causa, tam fuit in domini potestate, quam tu in Curionis. (Philip. 2. 18.) duce filiola Curionis. (ad Att. 1. 14.

Vir nobilis, eloquens, audax, suæ alienæque et fortunæ et pudicitiæ prodigus—cujus animo, voluptatibus vel libidinibus, neque opes ullæ neque cupiditates sufficere possent. (Vell. p. 248.)

Nisi meis puer olim fidelissimis atque amantissimis consiliis paruisses. (Ep. fam. 2. 1.)

Bello autem civili—non alius majorem quam C. Curio subjecit facem—(Vell. p. 2. 48.)

Quid nunc Rostra tibi prosunt turbata, forumque
Unde Tribunitia plebeius signifer arce
Arma dabas populis, &c.

Lucan. 4. 800.

At Curio, nunquam, amisso exercitu, quem a Cæsare fidei suæ commissum acceperat, se in ejus conspectum reversurum, confirmat; atque ita prælians interficitur. Cæs. Comm. de Bell. Civ. 2.

† *Ante jaces, quam dira duces Pharsalia confert,*
Spectandumque tibi bellum civile negatum est.

Lucan. ib.

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on the whole they had brought together again a more numerous army than Cæsar's, and were in such high spirits, as to talk of coming over with it into Italy, before Cæsar could return from Alexandria †. This was confidently given out, and expected at Rome; and in that case, Cicero was sure to be treated as a deserter; for while Cæsar looked upon all men as friends, who did not act against him, and pardoned even enemies, who submitted to his power; it was a declared law on the other side, to consider all as enemies, who were not actually in their camp‡; so that Cicero had nothing now to wish, either for himself, or the republic, but, in the first place, a peace, of which he had still some hopes‖; or else, that Cæsar might conquer; whose victory was like to prove the more temperate of the two: which makes him often lament the unhappy situation to which he was reduced, where nothing could be of any service to him, but what he had always abhorred *.

Under this anxiety of mind, it was an additional vexation to him to hear that his reputation was attacked at Rome, for submitting so hastily to the con-

‡ Ii autem ex Africa jam affuturi videntur. Ad Att. xi. 15.

‡ Te enim dicere audiebamus, nos omnes adversarios putare, nisi qui nobiscum essent; te omnes, qui contra te non essent, tuos. Pro Ligar. xi. it. ad Att. xi. 6.

‖ Est autem, unum, quod mihi sit optandum, si quid agi de pace possit: quod nulla equidem habeo in spe: sed quia tu leviter interdum significas, cogis me sperare quod optandum vix est—ad Att. xi. 19. it. 12.—

* Mihi cum omnia sunt intolerabilia ad dolorem, tum maxime, quod in eam causam venisse me video, ut ea sola utilia mihi esse videantur, quæ semper nolui. Ad Att. xi. 13.

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queror, or putting himself rather at all into his power. Some condemned him for not following Pompey; some more severely for not going to Afric, as the greatest part had done; others, for not retiring with many of his party to Achaia; till they could see the farther progress of the war: as he was always extremely sensible of what was said of him by honest men, so he begs of Atticus to be his advocate; and gives him some hints, which might be urged in his defence. As to the first charge, for not following Pompey, he says, "that "Pompey's fate would extenuate the omission of that "step: of the second, that though he knew many "brave men to be in Afric, yet it was his opinion, that "the republic neither could, nor ought to be defended "by the help of so barbarous and treacherous a na-"tion: as to the third, he wishes indeed that he had "joined himself to those in Achaia, and owns them to "be in a better condition than himself, because they "were many of them together; and whenever they "returned to Italy, would be restored to their own at "once:" whereas he was confined like a prisoner of war to Brundisium, without the liberty of stirring from it till Cæsar arrived †.

While he continued in this uneasy state, some of his

† Dicebar debuisse cum Pompeio proficisci. Exitus illius minuit ejus officii prætermissi reprehensionem.—Sed ex omnibus nihil magis desideratur, quam quod in Africam non ierim. Judicio hoc sum usus, non esse barbaris auxiliis fallacissimæ gentis Rempub. defendendam—extremum est eorum, qui in Achaia sunt. Ii tamen ipsi se hoc melius habent, quam nos, quod et multi sunt uno in loco, et cum in Italiam venerint, domum statim venerint. Hæc tu perge, ut facis, mitigare et probare quam plurimis. Ad Att. xi. 7.

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friends at Rome contrived to send him a letter in Cæsar's name, dated the ninth of February from Alexandria, encouraging him to lay aside all gloomy apprehensions, and expect every thing that was kind and friendly from him: but it was drawn in terms so slight and general, that, instead of giving him any satisfaction, it made him only suspect, what he perceived afterwards to be true, that it was forged by Balbus or Oppius, on purpose to raise his spirits, and administer some little comfort to him *. All his accounts however confirmed to him the report of Cæsar's clemency and moderation, and his granting pardon without exception to all who asked it; and with regard to himself, Cæsar sent Quintus's virulent letters to Balbus, with orders to shew them to him, as a proof of his kindness and dislike of Quintus's perfidy. But Cicero's present despondency, which interpreted every thing by his fears, made him suspect Cæsar the more, for refusing grace to none; as if such a clemency must needs be affected, and his revenge deferred only to a season more convenient: and as to his brother's letters, he fancied, that Cæsar did not send them to Italy, because he condemned them, but to make his present misery and abject condition the more notorious and despicable to every body ||.

* Ut me ista epistola nihil consoletur; nam et exigue scripta est et magnas suspiciones habet, non esse ab illo—ad Att. xi. 16.

Ex quo intelligis, illud de litteris a. d. v. Id. Feb. datis (quod inane esset, etiam si verum esset) non verum esse. Ib. 17.

|| Omnino dicitur nemini negare: quod ipsum est suspectum, notionem ejus differri. Ib. 20.

Diligenter

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But, after a long series of perpetual mortifications, he was refreshed at last by a very obliging letter from Cæsar, who confirmed to him the full enjoyment of his former state and dignity, and bade him resume his fasces and stile of emperor as before *. Cæsar's mind was too great to listen to the tales of the brother and nephew; and, instead of approving their treachery, seems to have granted them their pardon on Cicero's account, rather than their own; so that Quintus, upon the trial of Cæsar's inclination, began presently to change his note, and to congratulate with his brother on Cæsar's affection and esteem for him †.

Cicero was now preparing to send his son to wait upon Cæsar, who was supposed to be upon his journey towards home; but the uncertain accounts of his coming diverted him a while from that thought ‡; till Cæsar himself prevented it, and relieved him very agreeably from his tedious residence at Brundisium, by his sudden and unexpected arrival in Italy; where he landed at Tarentum in the month of September;

Diligenter mihi fasciculum reddidit Balbi tabellarius—quod ne Cæsar quidem ad istos videtur mississe, quasi quo illius improbitate offenderetur, sed credo, uti notiora nostra mala essent,—ib. 22.

* Redditæ mihi tandem sunt a Cæsare literæ satis liberales. Ep. fam. 14. 23.

Qui ad me ex Ægypto literas misit, ut essem idem, qui fuissem: qui cum ipse imperator in toto imperio populi Romani unus esset, esse me alterum passus est: a quo—concessos fasces laureatos tenui, quoad tenendos putavi. Pro Ligar. 3.

† Sed mihi valde Quintus gratulatur. Ad Att. 11. 23.

‡ Ego cum Sallustio Ciceronem ad Cæsarem mittere cogitabam. Ib. 17.

De illius Alexandria discessu nihil adhuc rumorias; contraque opinio—itaque nec mitto, ut constitueram, Ciceronem—Ib. 18.

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and on the first notice of his coming forward towards Rome, Cicero set out on foot to meet him.

We may easily imagine, what we find indeed from his letters, that he was not a little discomposed at the thoughts of this interview, and the indignity of offering himself to a conqueror, against whom he had been in arms, in the midst of a licentious and insolent rabble: for though he had reason to expect a kind reception from Cæsar, yet he hardly thought his life, (he says,) worth begging; since what was given by a master, might always be taken away again at pleasure †. But, at their meeting, he had no occasion to say or do any thing that was below his dignity: for Cæsar no sooner saw him, than he alighted and ran to embrace him; and walked with him alone, conversing very familiarly for several furlongs *.

From this interview, Cicero followed Cæsar towards Rome: he proposed to be at Tusculum on the seventh or eighth of October; and wrote to his wife to provide for his reception there, with a large company of friends, who designed to make some stay with him ‡. From Tusculum he came afterwards to the city, with a resolution to spend his time in study and retreat, till the republic should be restored to some tolerable state; "having made his peace again, as he writes to Varro, "with his old friends, his books, who had been out of

† Sed non adducor, quemquam bonum ullam salutem mihi tanti fuisse putare, ut eam peterem ab illo—Ad Att. 11. 16.

Sed——ab hoc ipso quæ dantur, ut a domino, rursus in ejusdem sunt potestate. Ib. 20.

* Plutar. in Cic.

‡ Ep. fam. 14. 20.

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"humour with him for not obeying their precepts; "but, instead of living quietly with them, as Varro "had done, committing himself to the turbulent "counsels and hazards of war, with faithless compa- "nions §."

On Cæsar's return to Rome, he appointed P. Vatinius and Q. Fufius Calenus, consuls for the three last months of the year: this was a very unpopular use of his new power, which he continued however to practise through the rest of his reign; creating these first magistrates of the state, without any regard to the ancient forms, or recourse to the people, and at any time of the year; which gave a sensible disgust to the city, and an early specimen of the arbitrary manner in which he designed to govern them.

About the end of the year, Cæsar embarked for Afric, to pursue the war against Scipio, and the other Pompeian generals, who, assisted by king Juba, held the possession of that province with a vast army.—As he was sacrificing for the success of this voyage, the victim happened to break loose and run away from the altar; which being looked upon as an unlucky omen, the haruspex admonished him not to sail before the winter solstice: but he took ship directly, in contempt of the admonition; and, by that means, as Cicero says, came upon his enemies unprepared; and before they had drawn together all their forces *.

§ Scito enim me posteaquam in urbem venerim, redisse cum veteribus amicis, id est, cum libris nostris in gratiam—ignoscunt mihi revocant in consuetudinem pristinam, teque, quod in ea permanseris, sapientiorem, quam me dicunt fuisse, &c. Ep. fam. 9. 1.

* Quid? ipse Cæsar, a cum summo haruspice moneretur, ne in Africam

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Upon his leaving the city, he declared himself consul, together with M. Lepidus, for the year ensuing; and gave the government of the Hither Gaul to M. Brutus; of Greece, to Servius Sulpicius; the first of whom had been in arms against him at Pharsalia; and the second was a favourer likewise of the Pompeian cause, and a great friend of Cicero, yet seems to have taken no part in the war *.

The African war now held the whole empire in suspence; Scipio's name was thought ominous and invincible on that ground; but while the general attention was employed on the expectation of some decisive blow, Cicero, despairing of any good from either side, chose to live retired and out of sight; and, whether in the city or the country, shut himself up with his

Africam ante brumam transmitteret, nonne transmisit? quod ni fecisset, uno in loco omnes adversariorum copiæ convenisset. De Divin. 2. 24.

Cum immolanti aufugisset hostia profectionem adversus Scipionem et Jubam non distulit. Sueton. J. Cæs. 59.

Hirtius, in his account of this war, says, that Cæsar embarked at Lilybæum for Afric on the 6th of the kalends of January, [de Bell. Afric. init.] that is, on the 27th of our December: whereas Cicero, in the passage just cited, declares him to have passed over before the solstice, or the shortest day. But this seeming contradiction is entirely owing to a cause already intimated, the great confusion that was introduced at this time into the Roman kalendar, by which the months were all transposed from their stated seasons; so that the 27th of December, on which, according to their computation, Cæsar embarked, was in reality coincident, or the same with our 8th of October, and consequently above two months before the solstice, or shortest day. All which is clearly and accurately explained in a learned dissertation, published by a person of eminent merit in the University of Cambridge, who chuses to conceal his name. See Bibliothec. Literar. N°. VIII. Lond. 1724. 4to.

* Brutum Galliæ præfecit; Sulpicium Græciæ. Ep. fam. 6. 6.

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books; which, as he often says, "had hitherto been "the diversion only, but were now become the sup- "port of his life *." In this humour of study he entered into a close friendship and correspondence of letters with M. Terentius Varro; a friendship equally valued on both sides, and, at Varro's desire, immortalized by the mutual dedication of their learned works to each other; of Cicero's *Academic Questions* to Varro; and of Varro's *Treatise on the Latin Tongue*, to Cicero. Varro was a senator of the first distinction, both for birth and merit; esteemed the most learned man of Rome; and, though now above fourscore years old, yet continued still writing and publishing books to his eighty-eighth year †. He was Pompey's lieutenant in Spain, in the beginning of the war; but, after the defeat of Afranius and Petreius, quitted his arms, and retired to his studies; so that his present circumstances were not very different from those of Cicero; who, in all his letters to him, bewails, with great freedom, the utter ruin of the state; and proposes, "that they should live together in a strict com- "munication of studies, and avoid at least the sight, if "not the tongues of men; yet so, that, if their new "masters should call for their help towards settling "the republic, they should run with pleasure, and as- "sist, not only as architects, but even as masons, to "build it up again; or, if no body would employ

* A quibus antea delectationem modo petebamus, nunc vero etiam salutem. Ep. fam. 9. 2.

† Nisi M. Varronem scirem octogesimo octavo vitæ anno prodidisse, &c. Plin. Hist. 29. 4.

A. Urb. 707. Cic. 61. Coss.—C. Julius Cæsar III. M. Æmilius Lepidus.

" them, should write and read the best forms of go-
" vernment; and, as the learned ancients had done
" before them, serve their country, if not in the senate
" and forum, yet by their books and studies, and by
" composing treatises of morals and laws *."

In this retreat he wrote his book of *Oratorial Partitions;* or the art of ordering and distributing the parts of an oration, so as to adapt them in the best manner to their proper end, of moving and persuading an audience. It was written for the instruction of his son, now about eighteen years old, but seems to have been the rude draught only of what he intended, or not to have been finished at least to his satisfaction; since we find no mention of it in any of his letters, as of all his other pieces which were prepared for the public.

Another fruit of this leisure was his *Dialogue on famous Orators*, called *Brutus*; in which he gives a short character of all who had ever flourished either in Greece or Rome, with any reputation of eloquence, down to his own times: and as he generally touches the principal points of each man's life, so an attentive reader may find in it an epitome, as it were, of the Roman history. The conference is supposed to be held with Brutus and Atticus in Cicero's garden at Rome, under the statue of Plato *; whom he always

* Non deesse si quis adhibere volet, non modo ut architectos, verum etiam ut fabros, ad ædificandam rempub. et potius libenter accurere: si nemo utetur opera, tamen et scribere et legere πολιτείας; et si minus in curia atque in foro, at in literis et libris, ut doctissimi veteres fecerunt, navare rempub. et de moribus et legibus quærere. Mihi hæc videntur. Ep. fam. 9. 2.

* Cum idem placuisset illis, tum in pratulo, propter Platonis statuam consedimus—Brut. 28.

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admired, and usually imitated in the manner of his dialogues; and in this, seems to have copied from him the very form of his double title; *Brutus, or of famous orators*; taken from the speaker and the subject, as in Plato's piece, called *Phædon, or of the soul.* This work was intended as a *supplement, or a fourth book to the three*, which he had before published on *the complete orator.* But though it was prepared and finished at this time, while Cato was living, as it is intimated in some parts of it, yet, as it appears from the preface, it was not made public till the year following, after the death of his daughter Tullia.

As at the opening of the war we found Cicero in debt to Cæsar, so we now meet with several hints in his letters, of Cæsar's being indebted to him. It arose probably from a mortgage that Cicero had upon the confiscated estate of some Pompeian, which Cæsar had seized: but of what kind soever it was, Cicero was in pain for his money: "he saw but three ways, he says, "of getting it; by purchasing the estate at Cæsar's "auction; or taking an assignment on the purchaser; "or compounding for half with the brokers or money-"jobbers of those times; who would advance the mo-"ney on those terms. The first he declares to be "base, and that he would rather lose his debt, than "touch any thing confiscated: the second he thought "hazardous; and that no body would pay any thing "in such uncertain times: the third he liked the best, "but desires Atticus's advice upon it †."

† Nomen illud, quod a Cæsare, tres habet conditiones; aut em-

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He now at last parted with his wife Terentia, whose humour and conduct had long been uneasy to him: this drew upon him some censure; for putting away a wife, who had lived with him above thirty years, the faithful partner of his bed and fortunes; and the mother of two children, extremely dear to him. But she was a woman of an imperious and turbulent spirit; expensive and negligent in her private affairs; busy and intriguing in the public; and, in the height of her husband's power, seems to have had the chief hand in the distribution of all his favours. He had easily born her perverseness in the vigour of health, and the flourishing state of his fortunes; but in a declining life, soured by a continual succession of mortifications from abroad, the want of ease and quiet at home was no longer tolerable to him: the divorce however was not likely to cure the difficulties in which her management had involved him: for she had brought him a great fortune, which was all to be restored to her at parting: this made a second marriage necessary, in order to repair the ill state of his affairs; and his friends of both sexes were busy in providing a fit match for him: several parties were proposed to him, and among others, a daughter of Pompey the Great: for whom he seems to have had an inclination: but a prudential regard to the times, and the envy and ruin under which that family then lay, induced them probably

tionem ab hasta; (perdere malo:—) aut delegationem a mancipe, annua die: (quis erit, cui credam?)—aut vecteni conditionem, semissem [illegible] igitur, Ad Att. 12. 3.

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to drop it ‡. What gave his enemies the greater handle to rally him was, his marrying a handsome young woman, named Publilia, of an age disproportionate to his own, to whom he was guardian: but she was well allied, and rich; circumstances very convenient to him at this time: as he intimates in a letter to a friend, who congratulated with him on his marriage.

"As to your giving me joy," says he, "for what I "have done, I know you wish it: but I should not "have taken any new step in such wretched times, "if, at my return, I had not found my private affairs "in no better condition than those of the republic. "For when, through the wickedness of those, who, "for my infinite kindness to them, ought to have had "the greatest concern for my welfare, I found no "safety or ease from their intrigues and perfidy with-"in my own walls, I thought it necessary to secure "myself by the fidelity of new alliances against the "treachery of the old *."

‡ De Pompeii Magni filia tibi rescripsi, nihil me hoc tempore cogitare. Alteram vero illam, quam tu scribis, puto nosti. Nihil vidi fœdius—ib. 12. 11.

* Ep. fam. 4. 14.

In cases of divorce, where there were children, it was the custom for each party to make a settlement by will on their common offspring, proportionable to their several estates: which is the meaning of Cicero pressing Atticus so often, in his letters, to put Terentia in mind of making her will, and depositing it in safe hands. Ad Att. xi. 21, 22, 24. xii. 18.

Terentia is said to have lived to the age of an hundred and three years: [Val. M. 8. 13. Plin. H. 7. 48.] and took, as St Jerome says, for her second husband, Cicero's enemy, Sallust; and Messala for her third. Dio Cassius gives her a fourth, Vibius Rufus; who

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Cæsar returned victorious from Afric about the end of July, by the way of Sardinia, where he spent some days: upon which Cicero says pleasantly to Varro, he had never seen that farm of his before, which, though one of the worst that he has, he does not despise †. The uncertain event of the African war had kept the senate under some reserve; but they now began to push their flattery beyond all the bounds of decency, and decreed more extravagant honours to Cæsar, than were ever given before to man; which Cicero oft rallies with great spirit; and being determined to bear no part in that servile adulation, was treating about the purchase of a house at Naples, for a pretence of retiring still farther and oftener from Rome. But his friends, who knew his impatience under their present subjection, and the free way of speaking which he was apt to indulge, were in some pain, lest he should forfeit the good graces of Cæsar and his favourites, and provoke them too far by the keenness of his raillery ‡. They pressed him to accommo-

who was consul in the reign of Tiberius, and valued himself for the possession of two things, which had belonged to the two greatest men of the age before him, *Cicero's wife, and Cæsar's chair*, in which he was killed. Dio. p. 612. Hieron. Op. To. 4. par. 2. p. 190.

† Illud enim adhuc prædium suum non inspexit: nec ullum habet deterius, sed tamen non contemnit. Ep. fam. 9. 7.

‡ Some of his jests on Cæsar's administration are still preserved; which shew, that his friends had reason enough to admonish him to be more upon his guard. Cæsar had advanced Laberius, a celebrated mimic actor, to the order of knights; but when he stept from the stage into the theatre, to take his place upon the equestrian benches, none of the knights would admit him to a seat among them.

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date himself to the times, and to use more caution in his discourse, and to reside more at Rome, especially when Cæsar was there, who would interpret the distance and retreat which he affected, as a proof of his aversion to him.

But his answers on this occasion will show the real state of his sentiments, and conduct towards Cæsar, as well as of Cæsar's towards him: writing on this subject to Papirius Pætus, he says, "You are of opi-"nion, I perceive, that it will not be allowed to me, "as I thought it might be, to quit these affairs of the "city: you tell me of Catulus, and those times; but "what similitude have they to these? I myself was "unwilling at that time to stir from the guard of the "state; for I then sat at the helm, and held the rud-"der; but am now scarce thought worthy to work "at the pump: would the senate, think you, pass few-"er decrees, if I should live at Naples? while I am "still at Rome, and attend the forum, their decrees

them. As he was marching off, therefore, with disgrace, happening to pass near Cicero, "I would make room for you here," says Cicero, "on our bench, if we were not already too much crowded;" alluding to Cæsar's filling up the senate also with the scum of his creatures, and even with strangers and barbarians. At another time, being desired by a friend, in a public company, to procure for his son the rank of a senator in one of the corporate towns of Italy, "he shall have it," says he, "if you please, at Rome; but "it will be difficult at Pompeii." An acquaintance, likewise, from Laodicea, coming to pay his respects to him, and being asked what business had brought him to Rome, said, that he was sent upon an embassy to Cæsar, to intercede with him for the liberty of his country; upon which Cicero replied, "If you succeed, you "shall be an ambassador also for us." Macrob. Saturn. 2. 3. Sueton. c. 76.

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" are all drawn at our friend's house; and whenever " it comes into his head, my name is set down, as if " present at drawing them; so that I hear from Ar- " menia and Syria of decrees said to be made at my " motion, of which I had never heard a syllable at " home. Do not take me to be in jest; for I assure " you, that I have received letters from kings, from " the remotest parts of the earth, to thank me for giv- " ing them the title of king; when, so far from know- " ing that any such title had been decreed to them, " I knew not even that there were any such men in " being. What is then to be done? why, as long as " our *master of manners* continues here, I will follow " your advice; but as soon as he is gone, will run a- " way to your mushrooms," § &c.

In another letter; " Since you express," says he, " such a concern for me in your last, be assured, my " dear Pætus, that whatever can be done by art, (for " it is not enough to act with prudence, some artifice " also must now be employed) yet whatever, I say, " can be done by art, towards acquiring their good " graces, I have already done it with the greatest care; " nor, as I believe, without success; for I am so much " courted by all who are in any degree of favour with " Cæsar, that I begin to fancy that they love me; and " though real love is not easily distinguished from " false, except in the case of danger, by which the " sincerity of it may be tried, as of gold by fire; for

§ Ep. fam. 9. 15. *Præfectus morum*, or *master of the public manners*, was one of the new titles which the senate had decreed to Cæsar.

A. Urb. 707. Cic. 61. Cos.—C. Julius Cæsar III. M. Æmilius Lepidus.

" all other marks are common to both; yet I have
" one argument to persuade me that they really love
" me; because both my condition and theirs is such,
" as puts them under no temptation to dissemble: and
" as for him who has all power, I see no reason to fear
" any thing; unless that all things become of course
" uncertain, when justice and right are once deserted:
" nor can we be sure of any thing that depends on
" the will, not to say the passion, of another. Yet I
" have not in any instance particularly offended him,
" but behaved myself all along with the greatest mo-
" deration: for, as I once took it to be my duty to
" speak my mind freely in that city, which owed its
" freedom to me, so now, since that is lost, to speak no-
" thing that may offend him, or his principal friends
" but if I would avoid all offence, of things said faceti-
" ously or by way of raillery, I must give up all reputa-
" tion of wit; which I would not refuse to do, if I
" could. But as to Cæsar himself, he has a very
" piercing judgment: and as your brother Servius,
" whom I take to have been an excellent critic, would
" readily say, " this verse is not Plautus's, that verse is;"
" having formed his ears by great use, to distinguish
" the peculiar stile and manner of different poets; so
" Cæsar, I hear, who has already collected some vo-
" lumes of apophthegms, if any thing be brought to
" him for mine, which is not so, presently rejects it:
" which he now does the more easily, because his
" friends live almost continually with me; and in the
" variety of discourse, when any thing drops from me,

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" which they take to have some humour or spirit in it,
" they carry it always to him, with the other news of
" the town, for such are his orders: so that if he hears
" any thing besides of mine from other persons, he
" does not regard it. I have no occasion therefore
" for your example of Ænomaus, though aptly applied
" from Accius: for what is the envy, which you
" speak of? or what is there in me to be envied now;
" but suppose there was every thing: it has been the
" constant opinion of philosophers, the only men, in
" my judgment, who have a right notion of virtue,
" that a wise man has nothing more to answer for,
" than to keep himself free from guilt; of which I take
" myself to be clear, on a double account; because I
" both pursued those measures, which where the just-
" est: and when I saw, that I had not strength enough
" to carry them, did not think it my business to contend
" by force with those who were too strong for me. It
" is certain, therefore, that I cannot be blamed, in what
" concerns the part of a good citizen: all that is now
" left, is, not to say or do any thing foolishly or rashly
" against the men in power; which I take also to be
" the part of a wise man. As for the rest, what peo-
" ple may report to be said by me, or how he may
" take it, or with what sincerity those live with me,
" who now so assiduously court me, it is not in my
" power to answer. I comfort myself therefore with
" the consciousness of my former conduct, and the
" moderation of my present; and shall apply your
" similitude from Accius, not only to the case of en-

A. Urb. 707. Cic. 61. Cos.—C. Julius Cæsar III. M. Æmilius Lepidus.

"vy, but of fortune; which I consider as light and "weak, and what ought to be repelled by a firm and "great mind, as waves by a rock. For since the "Greek history is full of examples, how the wisest "men have endured tyrannies at Athens or Syracuse; "and, when their cities were enslaved, have lived them-"selves in some measure free; why may not I think "it possible to maintain my rank so, as neither to of-"fend the mind of any, nor hurt my own dignity?— "&c. *"

Pætus having heard, that Cæsar was going to divide some lands in his neighbourhood to the soldiers, began to be afraid for his own estate, and writes to Cicero, to know how far that distribution would extend: to which Cicero answers: "Are not you a "pleasant fellow, who, when Balbus has just been "with you, ask me what will become of those towns "and their lands? as if either I knew any thing, that "Balbus does not; or if, at any time I chance to "know any thing, I do not know it from him: nay, "it is your part rather, if you love me, to let me "know what will become of me: for you had in "your power to have learnt it from him, either sober, "or at least when drunk. But as for me, my dear "Pætus, I have done enquiring about those things: "first, because we have already lived near four years, "by clear gain, as it were: if that can be called gain, "or this life, to outlive the republic: secondly, be-"cause I myself seem to know what will happen;

* Ep. fam. 9. 16.

A. Urb. 707. Cic. 61. Cos.—C. Julius Cæsar III. M. Æmilius Lepidus.

" for it will be, whatever pleases the strongest; which " must always be decided by arms: it is our part, " therefore, to be content with what is allowed to us: " he who cannot submit to this, ought to have chosen " death. They are now measuring the fields of Veiæ " and Capenæ: this is not far from Tusculum: yet I " fear nothing: I enjoy it whilst I may; wish that I " always may; but if it should happen otherwise, yet " since, with all my courage and philosophy, I have " thought it best to live, I cannot but have an affec- " tion for him by whose benefit I hold that life: who, " if he has an inclination to restore the republic, as " he himself perhaps may desire, and we all ought to " wish, yet he has linked himself so with others, that " he has not the power to do what he would. But I " proceed too far; for I am writing to you: be as- " sured however of this, that not only I, who have no " part in their counsels, but even the chief himself, " does not know what will happen. We are slaves to " him, he to the times: so neither can he know, " what the times will require, nor we, what he may " intend, &c. *.

The chiefs of the Cæsarian party, who courted Cicero so much at this time, were Balbus, Oppius, Matius, Pansa, Hirtius, Dolabella: they were all in the first confidence with Cæsar, yet professed the utmost affection for Cicero; were every morning at his levee, and perpetually engaging him to sup with them; and the two last employed themselves in a daily exercise

* Ep. fam. 9. 17.

A. Urb. 707. Cic. 61. Coss.—C. Julius Cæsar III. M. Æmilius Lepidus.

of declaiming at his house, for the benefit of his instruction; of which he gives the following account in his familiar way to Pætus: "Hirtius and Dolabella "are my scholars in speaking; my masters in eating: "for you have heard, I guess, how they declaim with "me, I sup with them." In another letter, he tells him, "that as king Dionysius, when driven out of Sy- "racuse, turned school-master at Corinth, so he, hav- "ing lost his kingdom of the forum, had now opened "a school—to which he merrily invites Pætus, with "the offer of a seat and cushion next to himself, as his "usher *." But to Varro more seriously, "I ac- "quainted you," says he, "before, that I am intimate "with them all, and assist at their counsels: I see no "reason why I should not—for it is not the same thing "to bear what must be born, and to approve what "ought not to be approved." And again: "I do not "forbear to sup with those who now rule: what can "I do? we must comply with the times †."

The only use which he made of all this favour was, to screen himself from any particular calamity in the

* Hirtium ego et Dolabellam dicendi discipulos habeo, cœnandi magistros: puto enim te audisse—illos apud me declamitare, me apud eos cœnitare. Ib. 16.

Ut Dionysius tyrannus, cum Syracusis pulsus esset, Corinthi dicitur ludum aperuisse, sic ego—amisso regno forensi, ludum quasi habere cœperim—sella tibi erit in ludo, tanquam hypodidasculo, proxima: eam pulvinus sequetur. Ib. 18.

† Ostentavi tibi, me istis esse familiarem, et consiliis eorum interesse. Quod ego cur nolim nihil video. Non enim est idem, ferre si quid ferendum est, et probare, si quid probandum non est. Ib. 6.

Non desino apud istos, qui nunc dominantur, cœnitare. Quid faciam? tempori serviendum est. Ib. 7.

A. Urb. 707. Cic. 61. Coss.—C. Julius Cæsar III. M. Æmilius Lepidus.

general misery of the times; and to serve those unhappy men, who were driven from their country and their families, for their adherence to that cause which he himself had espoused. Cæsar was desirous indeed to engage him in his measures, and attach him insensibly to his interests: but he would bear no part in an administration established on the ruins of his country; nor ever cared to be acquainted with their affairs, or to enquire what they were doing: so that, whenever he entered into their councils, as he signifies above to Varro, it was only when the case of some exiled friend required it; for whose service he scrupled no pains of soliciting, and attending even Cæsar himself; though he was sometimes shocked, as he complains, by the difficulty of access, and the indignity of waiting in an antichamber; not indeed through Cæsar's fault, who was always ready to give him audience; but, from the multiplicity of his affairs, by whose hands all the favours of the empire were dispensed *. Thus, in a letter to Ampius, whose pardon he had procured,—"I "have solicited your cause," says he, "more eagerly "than my present situation would well justify: for "my desire to see you, and my constant love for you, "most assiduously cultivated on your part, over-ruled "ed all regard to the present weak condition of my "power and interest. Every thing that relates to "your return and safety is promised, confirmed, fix-"ed, and ratified: I saw, knew, was present at every

* Quod si tardius fit quam volumus, magnis occupationibus ejus, a quo omnia petuntur, aditus ad eum difficiliores fuerunt. Ep. fam. 6. 13.

A. Urb. 707. Cic. 61. Cos.—C. Julius Cæsar III. M. Æmilius Lepidus.

"step: for, by good luck, I have all Cæsar's friends "engaged to me by an old acquaintance and friend- "ship: so that, next to him, they pay the first regard "to me: Pansa, Hirtius, Balbus, Oppius, Matius, Pos- "tumius, take all occasions to give me proof of their "singular affection. If this had been sought and pro- "cured by me, I should have no reason, as things now "stand, to repent of my pains: but I have done no- "thing with the view of serving the times; I had an "intimacy of long standing with them all; and never "gave over soliciting them on your behalf: I found "Pansa however the readiest of them all to serve you, "and oblige me; who has not only an interest, but "authority with Cæsar *," &c.

But, while he was thus caressed by Cæsar's friends, he was not less followed, we may imagine, by the friends of the republic: these had always looked upon him as the chief patron of their liberty; whose counsels, if they had been followed, would have preserved it; and whose authority gave them the only hopes that were left, of recovering it: so that his house was as much frequented, and his levee as much crowded as ever; "since people now flocked," he says, "to see "a good citizen, as a sort of rarity †." In another letter, giving a short account of his way of life, he says, "Early in the morning, I receive the compliments of "many honest men, but melancholy ones; as well as

* Ibid. 6. 12.

† Cum salutationi nos dedimus amicorum; quæ fit hoc etiam frequentius, quam solebat, quod quasi avem albam, videntur bene sentientem civem videre, abdo me in bibliothecam. Ib. 7. 28.

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" of these gay conquerors; who shew indeed a very " officious and affectionate regard to me. When these " visits are over, I shut myself up in my library, either " to write or read: Here some also come to hear me, " as a man of learning; because I am somewhat more " learned than they: the rest of my time I give to the " care of my body: for I have now bewailed my coun- " try longer and more heavily, than any mother ever " bewailed her only son *."

It is certain, that there was not a man in the republic so particularly engaged, both by principle and interest, to wish well to its liberty, or who had so much to lose by the subversion of it as he: for as long as it was governed by civil methods, and stood upon the foundation of its laws, he was undoubtedly the first citizen in it; had the chief influence in the senate; the chief authority with the people: and, as all his hopes and fortunes were grounded on the peace of his country, so all his labours and studies were perpetually applied to the promotion of it: it is no wonder, therefore, in the present situation of the city, oppressed by arms, and a tyrannical power, to find him so particularly impatient under the common misery, and expressing so keen a sense of the diminution of his dignity, and the disgrace of serving, where he had been used to govern.

* Hæc igitur est nunc vita nostra. Mane salutamus domi et bonos viros multos, sed tristes, et hos lætos victores; qui me quidem perofficiose et peramanter observant. Ubi salutatio defluxit, literis me involvo, aut scribo aut lego. Veniunt etiam qui me audiunt, quasi doctum hominem, quia paullo sum, quam ipsi, doctior. Inde corpori omne tempus datur. Patriam eluxi jam gravius et diutius quam ulla mater unicum filium. Ep. fam. 9. 20.

A. Urb. 707. Cic. 61. Cos.—C. Julius Cæsar III. M. Æmilius Lepidus.

Cæsar, on the other hand, though he knew his temper and principles to be irreconcileable to his usurped dominion, yet, out of friendship to the man, and a reverence for his character, was determined to treat him with the greatest humanity: and, by all the marks of personal favour, to make his life not only tolerable, but easy to him: yet all that he could do had no other effect on Cicero, than to make him think and speak sometimes favourably of the natural clemency of their master; and to entertain some hopes from it, that he would one day be persuaded to restore the public liberty: but, exclusive of that hope, he never mentions his government but as a real tyranny; or his person in any other stile, than as the oppressor of his country.

But he gave a remarkable proof at this time of his being no temporiser, by writing a book in praise of Cato; which he published within a few months after Cato's death. He seems to have been left a guardian to Cato's son; as he was also to young Lucullus, Cato's nephew *: and this testimony of Cato's friendship and judgment of him, might induce him the more readily to pay this honour to his memory. It was a matter however of no small deliberation, in what manner he ought to treat the subject: his friends advised him, not to be too explicit and particular in the detail of Cato's praises; but to content himself with a general encomium, for fear of irritating Cæsar, by pushing the argument too far. In a letter to Atticus,

* Ad Att. 13. 6. De Finib. 3. 2.

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he calls this, " an Archimedean problem; but I can-
" not hit upon any thing, (says he,) that those friends
" of yours will read with pleasure, or even with pa-
" tience; besides, if I should drop the account of Cato's
" votes and speeches in the senate, and of his political
" conduct in the state, and give a slight commenda-
" tion only of his constancy and gravity, even this may
" be more than they will care to hear: but the man
" cannot be praised, as he deserves, unless it be particu-
" larly explained how he foretold all that has hap-
" pened to us; how he took arms to prevent its hap-
" pening; and parted with life rather than see it hap-
" pen *." These were the topics, which he resolved to display with all his force; and, from the accounts given of the work by antiquity, it appears that he had spared no pains to adorn it, but extolled Cato's virtue and character to the skies ‡.

The book was soon spread into all hands; and Cæsar, instead of expressing any resentment, affected to be much pleased with it; yet declared that he would answer it: and Hirtius, in the mean while, drew up a little piece in the form of a letter to Cicero, filled with objections to Cato's character, but with high compli-

* Sed de Catone προβλημα ἀρχιμήδειον est. Non assequor ut scribam, quod tui convivæ non modo libenter, sed etiam æquo animo legere possint. Quin etiam si a sententiis ejus dictis, si ab omni voluntate, consiliisque quæ de repub. habuit, recedam; ψυδῶς que velim gravitatem constantiamque ejus laudare, hoc ipsum ἄκυρμα sit. Sed vere laudari ille vir non potest, nisi hæc ornata sunt, quod ille ea, quæ nunc sunt, et futura viderit, et ne fierent contenderit, et facta ne videret, vitam reliquerit. Ad Att. 12. 3.

‡ M. Ciceronis libro, quo Catonem cœlo æquavit, &c. Tacit. Ann. 4. 34.

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ments to Cicero himself; which Cicero took care to make public, and calls it a specimen of what Cæsar's work was like to be †. Brutus also composed and published a piece on the same subject; as well as another friend of Cicero, Fabius Gallus *: but these were but little considered in comparison of Cicero's: and Brutus had made some mistakes in his account of the transactions, in which Cato had been concerned; especially in the debates on Catiline's plot; in which he had given him the first part and merit, in derogation even of Cicero himself ‡.

Cæsar's answer was not published till the next year, upon his return from Spain; after the defeat of Pompey's sons. It was a laboured invective: answering Cicero's book paragraph by paragraph, and accusing Cato with all the art and force of his rhetoric, as if in a public trial before judges ‖; yet with expres-

† Qualis futura sit Cæsaris vituperatio contra laudationem meam perspexi ex eo libro, quem Hirtius ad me misit, in quo colligit vitia Catonis, sed cum maximis laudibus meis. Itaque misi librum ad Muscam, ut tuis librariis daret. Volo eum divulgari, &c. Ad Att. 12. 40. it. 41.

* Catonem tuum mihi mitte. Cupio enim legere. Ep. fam. 7. 24.

‡ Catonem primum sententiam putat de animadversione dixisse, quam omnes ante dixerant præter Cæsarem, &c.——Ad Att. 12. 21.

From this and other particulars, which are mentioned in the same letter, we may observe, that Sallust had probably taken his account of the debates upon *Catiline's Accomplices*, from *Brutus's Life of Cato*, and chosen to copy even his mistakes, rather than do justice to Cicero on that occasion.

‖ Ciceronis libro—quid aliud Dictator Cæsar, quam rescripta oratione, velut apud judices respondit? Tacit. Ann. 4. 34. it. Quintil. 3. 7.

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sions of great respect towards Cicero; whom, for his virtues and abilities, he compared to Pericles and Theramenes of Athens §: and, in a letter upon it to Balbus, which was shewn by his order to Cicero, he said, that, by the frequent reading of Cicero's Cato, he was grown more copious; but, after he had read Brutus's, thought himself even eloquent *.

These two rival pieces were much celebrated in Rome; and had their several admirers, as different parties and interests disposed men to favour the subject or the author of each: and it is certain, that they were the principal cause of establishing and propagating that veneration, which posterity has since paid to the memory of Cato. For his name being thrown into controversy, in that critical period of the fate of Rome, by the patron of liberty on the one side, and the oppressor of it on the other, became of course, a kind of political test to all succeeding ages; and a perpetual argument of dispute between the friends of liberty, and the flatterers of power. But if we consider his character without prejudice, he was certainly a great and worthy man; a friend to truth, virtue, liberty: yet, falsely measuring all duty by the absurd rigour of the Stoical rule, he was generally disappointed of the end, which he sought by it, the happiness both of his private and public life. In his private conduct, he was severe, morose, inexorable; banishing

§ Plutar. in Cic.

* Legi epistolam: multa de meo Catone, quo sæpissime legendo se dicit copiosiorem factum; Bruti Catone lecto, se sibi visum disertum. Ad Att. 13. 46.

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all the softer affections, as natural enemies to justice, and as suggesting false motives of acting, from favour, clemency, and compassion: in public affairs he was the same; had but one rule of policy, to adhere to what was right; without regard to times or circumstances, or even to a force that could controul him: for, instead of managing the power of the great, so as to mitigate the ill, or extract any good from it, he was urging it always to acts of violence by a perpetual defiance; so that, with the best intentions in the world, he often did great harm to the republic. This was his general behaviour; yet, from some particular facts explained above, it appears that his strength of mind was not always impregnable, but had its weak places of pride, ambition, and party zeal; which, when managed and flattered to a certain point, would betray him sometimes into measures contrary to his ordinary rule of right and truth. The last act of his life was agreeable to his nature and philosophy: when he could no longer be what he had been; or when the ills of life overbalanced the good, which, by the principles of his sect, was a just cause for dying *; he put an end to his life, with a spirit and resolution which would make one imagine, that he was glad to have found an occasion of dying in his proper character.

* In quo enim plura sunt, quæ secundum naturam sunt, hujus officium est in vita manere: in quo autem aut sunt plura contraria, aut fore videntur, hujus officium est e vita excedere. De Fin. 3. 18.

Vetus est enim; ubi non sis, qui fueris, non esse cur velis vivere. Ep. fam. 7. 3.

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On the whole, his life was rather admirable, than amiable; fit to be praised, rather than imitated †.

As soon as Cicero had published his *Cato*, he wrote his piece called the *Orator*, at the request of Brutus; containing the plan or delineation of what he himself esteemed the most perfect eloquence or manner of speaking. He calls it the fifth part or book, designed to complete the argument of his *Brutus*, and the other three, on the same subject. It was received with great approbation; and, in a letter to Lepta, who had complimented him upon it, he declares, that whatever judgment he had in speaking, he had thrown it all into that work, and was content to risk his reputation on the merit of it ‡.

He now likewise spoke that famous speech of thanks to Cæsar, for the pardon of M. Marcellus; which was granted upon the intercession of the senate. Cicero had a particular friendship with all the family of the Marcelli; but especially with this Marcus; who from the defeat of Pompey at Pharsalia, retired to Mitylene in Lesbos, where he lived with so much ease and

† Cato sic abiit e vita, ut causam moriundi nactum se esse gauderet.—cum vero causam justam Deus ipse dederit, ut tunc Socrati, nunc Catoni, &c. Tusc. Quæst. 1. 30.

Catoni.—moriundum potius, quam Tyranni vultus adspiciendus fuit. De Offic. 1. 31.

Non immaturus decessit: vixit enim, quantum debuit vivere. Senec. Consol. ad Marc. 20.

‡ Ita tres erunt de oratore: quartus Brutus: quintus, orator. De Div. 2. 1.

Oratorem meum tantopere a te probari, vehementer gaudeo: mihi quidem sic persuadeo, me quicquid habuerim judicii in dicendo, in illum librum contulisse. Ep. fam. 6. 18.

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satisfaction to himself in a philosophical retreat, that Cicero, as it appears from his letters, was forced to use all his art and authority to persuade him to return, and take the benefit of that grace which they had been labouring to obtain for him *. But how the affair was transacted, we may learn from Cicero's account of it to Serv. Sulpicius, who was then proconsul of Greece——"Your condition," says he, "is better "than ours in this particular, that you dare venture "to write your grievances; we cannot even do that "with safety: not through any fault of the conquer- "or, than whom nothing can be more moderate, but "of victory itself, which in civil wars is always inso- "lent: we have had the advantage of you however "in one thing; in being acquainted a little sooner "than you, with the pardon of your colleague Mar- "cellus: or rather indeed in seeing how the whole "affair passed; for I would have you believe, that, "from the beginning of these miseries, or ever since "the public right has been decided by arms, there "has nothing been done besides this with any dignity. "For Cæsar himself, after having complained of the "moroseness of Marcellus, for so he called it, and "praised in the strongest terms the equity and pru- "dence of your conduct, presently declared, beyond "all our hopes, that whatever offence he had receiv- "ed from the man, he could refuse nothing to the "intercession of the senate. What the senate did "was this: upon the mention of Marcellus by Piso,

* Ep. fam. 4. 7, 8, 9.

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" his brother Caius having thrown himself at Cæsar's " feet, they all rose up, and went forward in a suppli- " cating manner towards Cæsar: in short, this day's " work appeared to me so decent, that I could not " help fancying that I saw the image of the old re- " public reviving: when all, therefore, who were ask- " ed their opinions before me, had returned thanks to " Cæsar, excepting Volcatius, (for he declared, that " he would not have done it, though he had been in " Marcellus's place,) I, as soon as I was called upon, " changed my mind; for I had resolved with myself " to observe an eternal silence, not through any lazi- " ness, but the loss of my former dignity; but Cæsar's " greatness of mind, and the laudable zeal of the se- " nate, got the better of my resolution. I gave thanks " therefore to Cæsar in a long speech, and have de- " prived myself by it, I fear, on other occasions, of " that honest quiet, which was my only comfort in " these unhappy times: but since I have hitherto a- " voided giving him offence, and if I had always con- " tinued silent, he would have interpreted it perhaps, " as a proof of my taking the republic to be ruined: " I shall speak for the future not often, or rather very " seldom; so as to manage at the same time both his " favour, and my own leisure for study *.

Cæsar, though he saw the senate unanimous in their petition for Marcellus, yet took the pains to call for the particular opinion of every senator upon it; a method never practised, except in cases of debate and where

* Ep. fam. 4. 4.

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the house was divided; but he wanted the usual tribute of flattery upon this act of grace, and had a mind probably to make an experiment of Cicero's temper, and to draw from him especially some incense on the occasion; nor was he disappointed of his aim; for Cicero, touched by his generosity, and greatly pleased with the act itself, on the account of his friend, returned thanks to him in a speech which, though made upon the spot, yet, for elegance of diction, vivacity of sentiment, and politeness of compliment, is superior to any thing extant of the kind in all antiquity. The many fine things which are said in it of Cæsar, have given some handle indeed for a charge of insincerity against Cicero; but it must be remembered, that he was delivering a speech of thanks, not only for himself, but in the name and at the desire of the senate, where his subject naturally required the embellishments of oratory; and that all his compliments are grounded on a supposition, that Cæsar intended to restore the republic, of which he entertained no small hopes at this time, as he signifies in a letter to one of Cæsar's principal friends *. This, therefore, he recommends, enforces, and requires from him in his speech, with the spirit of an old Roman; and no reasonable man will think it strange, that so free an address to a conqueror, in the height of all his power, should want to be tempered with some few strokes of flattery. But the following passage from the oration itself will justify the truth of what I am saying.

* Sperare tamen videor, Cæsari, collegæ nostro, fore curæ et esse, ut habeamus aliquam rempublicam. Ep. fam. 13. 68.

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" If this, (says he,) Cæsar, was to be the end of your " immortal acts, that, after conquering all your ene- " mies, you should leave the republic in the condition " in which it now is, consider, I beseech you, whether " your divine virtue would not excite rather an admi- " ration of you than any real glory; for glory is the " illustrious fame of many and great services either to " our friends, our country, or to the whole race of man- " kind. This part therefore still remains; there is one " act more to be performed by you; to establish the " republic again, that you may reap the benefit of it " yourself in peace and prosperity. When you have " paid this debt to your country, and fulfilled the ends " of your nature by a satiety of living, you may then " tell us, if you please, that you have lived long enough: " Yet what is it, after all, that we can really call long, " of which there is an end; for when that end is once " come, all past pleasure is to be reckoned as nothing, " since no more of it is to be expected. Though your " mind, I know, was never content with these narrow " bounds of life which nature has assigned to us, but " inflamed always with an ardent love of immortality: " Nor is this indeed to be considered as your life, which " is comprised in this body and breath, but that—that, " I say, is your life, which is to flourish in the memory " of all ages; which posterity will cherish, and eterni- " ty itself propagate. It is to this that you must at- " tend; to this that you must form yourself; which " has many things already to admire, yet wants some- " thing still that it may praise in you. Posterity will

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" be amazed to hear and read of your commands, pro-
" vinces, the Rhine, the ocean, the Nile; your innu-
" merable battles, incredible victories, infinite monu-
" ments, splendid triumphs: But, unless this city be
" established again by your wisdom and counsels, your
" name indeed will wander far and wide, yet will have
" no certain seat or place, at last, where to fix itself.
" There will be also amongst those who are yet un-
" born, the same controversy that has been amongst
" us; when some will extol your actions to the skies;
" others, perhaps, will find something defective in them,
" and that one thing above all, if you should not ex-
" tinguish this flame of civil war, by restoring liberty
" to your country; for the one may be looked upon
" as the effect of fate, but the other is the certain act
" of wisdom. Pay a reverence therefore to those jud-
" ges, who will pass judgment upon you in ages to
" come, and with less partiality perhaps than we, since
" they will neither be biassed by affection or party,
" nor prejudiced by hatred or envy to you: And
" though this, as some falsely imagine, should then
" have no relation to you, yet it concerns you certain-
" ly, at the present, to act in such a manner, that no
" oblivion may ever obscure the lustre of your praises.
" Various were the inclinations of the citizens, and
" their opinions wholly divided: Nor did we differ on-
" ly in sentiments and wishes, but in arms also and
" camps: The merits of the cause were dubious, and
" the contention between two celebrated leaders: Ma-
" ny doubted what was the best; many, what was con-

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" venient; many, what was decent; some also, what " was lawful†," &c.

But, though Cæsar took no step towards restoring the republic, he employed himself this summer in another work of general benefit to mankind; the *reformation* of the *kalendar*, by accommodating the course of the year to the exact course of the sun, from which it had varied so widely, as to occasion a strange confusion in all their accounts of time.

The Roman year, from the whole institution of Numa, was lunar, borrowed from the Greeks, amongst whom it consisted of three hundred and fifty-four days: Numa added one more to them, to make the whole number odd, which was thought the more fortunate; and, to fill up the deficiency of his year, to the measure of the solar course, inserted likewise, or intercalated, after the manner of the Greeks, an extraordinary month of twenty-two days every second year, and twenty-three every fourth, between the twenty-third and twenty-fourth day of February†: he committed the care of intercalating this month, and the supernumerary day, to the college of priests, who, in process of time, partly by a negligent, partly a superstitious, but chiefly an arbitrary abuse of their trust, used either to drop or insert them, as it was found most convenient to themselves or their friends, to

† Pro M. Marcell. 8, 9, 10.

† This was usually called *Intercalaris*, though Plutarch gives it the name of Mercedonius, which none of the Roman writers mention, except that Festus speaks of some days under the title of Mercedoniæ, because the Merces or wages of workmen were commonly paid upon them.

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make the current year longer or shorter ‡. Thus Cicero, when harassed by a perpetual course of pleading, prayed, that there might be no intercalation to lengthen his fatigue; and, when proconsul of Cilicia, pressed Atticus to exert all his interest to prevent any intercalation within the year, that it might not protract his government, and retard his return to Rome *. Curio, on the contrary, when he could not persuade the priests to prolong the year of his tribunate, by an intercalation, made that a pretence for abandoning the senate, and going over to Cæsar †.

This licence of intercalating introduced the confusion above mentioned, in the computation of their time: so that the order of all their months was transposed from their stated seasons, the winter months carried back into autumn, the autumnal into summer, till Cæsar resolved to put an end to this disorder, by abolishing the source of it, the use of *intercalations;* and instead of the *Lunar* to establish the *Solar* year, adjusted to the exact measure of the sun's revolution in the *Zodiac*, or to that period of time in which it returns to the point from which it set out; and as this, according to the astronomers of that age, was sup-

‡ Quod institutum perite a Numa posteriorum Pontificum negligentia dissolutum est. De Leg. 2. 12. vid. Censorin. de die Nat. c. 20. Macrob. Sat. 1. 14.

* Nos hic in multitudine et celebritate judiciorum—ita destinemur, ut quotide vota faciamus ne intercaletur. Ep. fam. 7. 2.

Per fortunas primum illud præfulci atque præmuni quæso, ut simus annui; ne intercaletur quidem. Ad Att. 5. 13. it. 9.

† Levissime enim, quia de intercalando non obtinuerat, transfugit ad populum et pro Cæsare loqui cœpit, Ep. fam. 8. 6. Dio, p. 148.

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posed to be *three hundred and sixty-five days and six hours*, so he divided the days into twelve artificial months; and, to supply the deficiency of the six hours, by which they fell short of the sun's complete course, he ordered a day to be intercalated after every four years, between the twenty-third and twenty-fourth of February ‡.

But, to make this new year begin, and proceed regularly, he was forced to insert into the current year two extraordinary months, between November and December; the one of thirty-three, the other of thirty-four days, besides the ordinary intercalary month of twenty-three days, which fell into it of course, which were all necessary to fill up the number of days that were lost to the old year, by the omission of intercalations, and to replace the months in their proper seasons *. All this was effected by the care and skill of Sosigenes, a celebrated astronomer of Alexandria, whom Cæsar had brought to Rome for that purpose †: and a *new kalendar* was formed upon it by Flavius, a scribe, digested according to order of the Roman festivals, and the old manner of computing their days, by Kalends, Ides, and Nones, which was published

‡ This day was called *Bissextus*, from its being a repetition or duplicate of *the Sixth of the Calends of* March, which fell always on the 24th; and hence our *Intercalary or Leap-year* is still called *Bissextile*.

* Quo autem magis in posterum ex Kalendis Januariis nobis temporum ratio congrueret, inter Novembrem et Decembrem mensem adjecit duos alios: fuitque is annus—xv. mensium cum intercalario, qui ex consuetudine eum annum inciderat. Suet. J. Cæs. 40.

† Plin. Hist. N. 18. 15.

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and authorized by the dictator's ediet, not long after his return from Afric. This year, therefore, was the longest that Rome had ever known, consisting of fifteen months, or four hundred and forty-five days, and is called the last of the confusion ‡; because it introduced *the Julian, or Solar year*, with the commencement of the ensuing January, which continues in use to this day in all Christian countries, without any other variation than that of *the old and new stile*——*.

Soon after the affair of Marcellus, Cicero had another occasion of trying both his eloquence and interest with Cæsar, in the cause of Ligarius, who was now in exile, on account of his having been in arms against Cæsar in the African war, in which he had borne a considerable command. His two brothers, however, had always been on Cæsar's side; and, being recommended by Pansa, and warmly supported by Cicero, had almost prevailed for his pardon, of which

‡ Adsitente sibi M. Flavio scriba, qui scriptos dies singulos ita ad Dictatorem detulit, ut et ordo eorum inveniri facillime posset, et invento certus status perseveraret—eaque re factum est, ut annus confusionis ultimus in quadringentos quadraginta tres dies tenderetur. Macrob. Sat. 1. 14. Dio. 227.

Macrobius makes this year to consist of 443 days, but he should have said 445, since, according to all accounts, 90 days were added to the old year of 355.

* This difference *of the old and new stile* was occasioned by a regulation made *by Pope* Gregory A. D. 1582; for it having been observed, that the computation of *the Vernal Equinox* was fallen back ten days from the time of *the Council of Nice*, when it was found to be on *the 21st of March*, according to which all the festivals of the church were then solemnly settled, Pope Gregory, by the advice of astronomers, caused ten days to be entirely sunk and thrown out of the current year, between the 4th and 15th of October.

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Cicero gives the following account in a letter to Ligarius himself.

CICERO to LIGARIUS.

"I would have you to be assured that I employ my "whole pains, labour, care, study, in procuring your "restoration: for as I have ever had the greatest af- "fection for you, so the singular piety and love of "your brothers, for whom, as well as yourself, I have "always professed the utmost esteem, never suffer me "to neglect any opportunity of my duty and service "to you. But what I am now doing, or have done, "I would have you learn from their letters, rather "than mine; but as to what I hope, and take to be "certain in your affair, that I chuse to acquaint you "with myself: for if any man be timorous in great "and dangerous events, and fearing always the worst, "rather than hoping the best, I am he; and if this be "a fault, confess myself not to be free from it; yet, "on the twenty-seventh of November, when, at the "desire of your brothers, I had been early with Cæ- "sar, and gone through the trouble and indignity of "getting access and audience, when your brothers "and relations had thrown themselves at his feet, "and I had said what your cause and circumstances "required, I came away, persuaded that your pardon "was certain; which I collected, not only from Cæ- "sar's discourse, which was mild and generous, but "from his eyes and looks, and many other signs, which "I could better observe than describe. It is your "part, therefore, to behave yourself with firmness and

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" courage; and as you have borne the more turbulent " part prudently, to bear this calmer state of things " cheerfully. I shall continue still to take the same " pains in your affairs, as if there was the greatest dif- " ficulty in them, and will heartily supplicate in your " behalf, as I have hitherto done, not only Cæsar him- " self, but all his friends, whom I have ever found " most affectionate to me. Adieu. *"

While Ligarius's affair was in this hopeful way, Q. Tubero, who had an old quarrel with him, being desirous to obstruct his pardon, and knowing Cæsar to be particularly exasperated against all those who, through an obstinate aversion to him, had renewed the war in Afric, accused him, in the usual form, of an uncommon zeal and violence in prosecuting that war. Cæsar privately encouraged the prosecution, and ordered the cause to be tried in the forum, where he sat upon it in person, strongly prepossessed against the criminal, and determined to lay hold on any plausible pretence for condemning him: but the force of Cicero's eloquence, exerted with all his skill in a cause which he had much at heart, got the better of all his prejudices, and extorted a pardon from him against his will.

The merit of this speech is too well known, to want to be enlarged upon here: those who read it, will find no reason to charge Cicero with flattery: but the free spirit which it breathes, in the face of that power to which it was suing for mercy, must give a great idea,

* Ep. fam. 6. 14.

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of the art of the speaker, who could deliver such bold truths without offence; as well as of the generosity of the judge, who heard them not only with patience, but approbation.

"Observe, Cæsar," says he "with what fidelity I "plead Ligarius's cause, when I betray even my own "by it. O that admirable clemency, worthy to be "celebrated by every kind of praise, letters, monu- "ments! M. Cicero defends a criminal before you, "by proving him not to have been in those sentiments "in which he owns himself to have been: nor does "he yet fear your secret thoughts, or, while he is "pleading for another, what may occur to you about "himself. See, I say, how little he is afraid of you. "See with what a courage and gaiety of speaking "your generosity and wisdom inspire me. I will "raise my voice to such a pitch, that the whole Ro- "man people may hear me. After the war was not "only begun, Cæsar, but in great measure finished, "when I was driven by no necessity, I went by choice "and judgment to join myself with those who had "taken arms against you. Before whom do I say "this? why, before him, who, though he knew it to "be true, yet restored me to the republic, before he "had even seen me; who wrote to me from Egypt, "that I should be the same man that I had always "been; and, when he was the only emperor within "the dominion of Rome, suffered me to be the other; "and to hold my laurelled fasces, as long as I thought

A. Urb. 707. Cic. 61. Coss.—C. Julius Cæsar III. M. Æmilius Lepidus.

" them worth holding *. Do you then, Tubero, call " Ligarius's conduct wicked? for what reason? since " that cause has never yet been called by that name: " some indeed call it mistake, others fear; those who " speak more severely, hope, ambition, hatred, obsti- " nacy; or, at the worst, rashness; but no man, be- " sides you, has ever called it wickedness. For my " part, were I to invent a proper and genuine name " for our calamity, I should take it for a kind of fata- " lity, that had possessed the unwary minds of men; " so that none can think it strange, that all human " counsels were over-ruled by a divine necessity. Call " us then, if you please, unhappy; though we can " never be so, under this conqueror; but I speak not " of us who survive, but of those who fell; let them " be ambitious; let them be angry; let them be ob- " stinate; but let not the guilt of crime, of fury, of " parricide, ever be charged on Cn. Pompey, and on " many of those who died with him. When did we " ever hear any such thing from you, Cæsar? or what " other view had you in the war, than to defend your- " self from injury?—you considered it from the first, " not as a war, but a secession; not as an hostile, but " civil dissension: where both sides wished well to the " republic; yet, through a difference, partly of coun- " cils, partly of inclinations, deviated from the com- " mon good: the dignity of the leaders was almost " equal; though not perhaps of those who followed " them: the cause was then dubious, since there was

* Pro Ligar. 3.

A. Urb. 707. Cic. 61. Cos.—C. Julius Cæsar III. M. Æmilius Lepidus.

" something which one might approve on either side; " but now, that must needs be thought the best, which " the Gods have favoured; and, after the experience " of your clemency, who can be displeased with that " victory, in which no man fell who was not actually " in arms *?"

The speech was soon made public, and greedily bought by all: Atticus was extremely pleased with it, and very industrious in recommending it; so that Cicero says merrily to him by letter, " You have sold " my Ligarian speech finely: whatever I write for the " future, I will make you the publisher." And again, " your authority, I perceive, has made my little " oration famous: for Balbus and Oppius write me " word, that they are wonderfully taken with it, and " have sent a copy to Cæsar †." The success which it met with, made Tubero ashamed of the figure that he made in it; so that he applied to Cicero to have something inserted in his favour, with the mention of his wife and some of his family, who were Cicero's near relations: but Cicero excused himself, because the speech was got abroad: " nor had he a mind," he says, " to make any apology for Tubero's conduct ‡.

* Pro Ligar. 6.

† Ligarianam præclare vendidisti. Posthac quicquid scripsero, tibi præconium deferam. Ad Att. 13. 12.

Ligarianam, ut video, præclare auctoritas tua commendavit. Scripsit enim ad me Balbus et Oppius, mirifice se probare, ob eamque causam ad Cæsarem eam se oratiunculam misisse. Ib. 19.

‡ Ad Ligarianam de uxore Tuberonis, et privigna, neque possum jam addere, est enim res pervulgata, neque Tuberonem volo defendere. Mirifice est enim φιλαίτιος. Ib. 20.

A. Urb. 707. Cic. 61. Coss.—C. Julius Cæsar III. M. Æmilius Lepidus.

Ligarius was a man of distinguished zeal for the liberty of his country: which was the reason both of Cicero's pains to preserve, and of Cæsar's averseness to restore him. After his return he lived in great confidence with Brutus, who found him a fit person to bear a part in the conspiracy against Cæsar; but, happening to be taken ill near the time of its execution, when Brutus, in a visit to him, began to lament that he was fallen sick in a very unlucky hour, Ligarius, raising himself presently upon his elbow, and taking Brutus by the hand, replied: "Yet still, Brutus, if you mean "to do any thing worthy of yourself, I am well ‡:" nor did he disappoint Brutus's opinion of him, for we find him afterwards in the list of the conspirators.

In the end of the year, Cæsar was called away in great haste into Spain, to oppose the attempts of Pompey's sons, who, by the credit of their father's name, were become masters again of all that province; and, with the remains of the troops, which Labienus, Varus, and the other chiefs, who escaped, had gathered up from Afric, were once more in condition to try the fortune of the field with him: where the great danger, to which he was exposed from this last effort of a broken party, shews how desperate his case must have been, if Pompey himself, with an entire and veteran army, had first made choice of this country for the scene of the war.

‡ Plutarch. in Brut.

A. Urb. 708. Cic. 62. C. Jul. Cæs. Dict. III. M. Æmil. Lepidus. Mag. Equit.

CICERO all this while passed his time with little satisfaction at home, being disappointed of the ease and comfort which he expected from his new marriage: his children, as we may imagine, while their own mother was living, would not easily bear with a young mother-in-law in the house with them. The son especially was pressing to get a particular appointment settled for his maintenance, and to have leave also to go to Spain, and make a campaign under Cæsar; whither his cousin Quintus was already gone: Cicero did not approve this project; and endeavoured by all means to dissuade him from it; representing to him, that it would naturally draw a just reproach upon them, for not thinking it enough to quit their former party, unless they fought against it too; and that he would not be pleased to see his cousin more regarded there than himself; and promising withal, if he would consent to stay, to make him an ample and honourable allowance*. This diverted him from the thoughts of Spain; though not from the desire of removing from his father, and taking a separate house in the city, with a distinct family of his own: but Cicero thought it best to send him to Athens, in order to spend a few years in the study of philosophy, and polite letters; and, to make the proposal agreeable, of-

* De Hispania duo attuli; primum idem, quod tibi, me vereri vituperationem: non satis esse si hæc arma reliquissemus? etiam contraria? deinde fore ut angeretur, cum a fratre familiaritate et omni gratia vinceretur. Velim magis liberalitate uti mea quam sua libertate. Ad Att. 12. 7.

fered him an appointment that would enable him to live as splendidly as any of the Roman nobility who then resided there, Bibulus, Acidinus, or Messala *.— This scheme was accepted, and soon after executed; and young Cicero was sent to Athens, with two of his father's freedmen, L. Tullius Montanus, and Tullius Marcianus, as the intendants and counsellors of his general conduct, while the particular direction of his studies was left to the principal philosophers of the place; and, above all, to Cratippus, the chief of the Peripatetic sect †.

In this uneasy state both of his private and public life, he was oppressed by a new and most cruel affliction, the death of his beloved danghter Tullia; which happened soon after her divorce from Dolabella; whose manners and humour were entirely disagreeable to her. Cicero had long been deliberating with himself and his friends, whether Tullia should not first send the divorce; but a prudential regard to Dolabella's power and interest with Cæsar, which was of use to him in these times, seems to have withheld him ‡. The case

* Præstabo nec Bibulum, nèc Acidinum, nec Messalam, quos Athenis futuros audio, majores sumptus facturos, quam quod ex eis mercedibus accipietur. Ib. 32.

† L. Tullium Montanum nosti, qui cum Cicerone profectus est. Ib. 52, 53.

Quanquam te, Marce fili, annum jam audientum Cratippum, &c. De Off. 1. 1, it. 2. 2.

‡ Te oro ut de hac misera cogites—melius quidem in pessimis nihil fuit discidio—nunc quidem ipse videtur denunciare—placet mihi igitur, et idem tibi nuncium remitti, &c. Ad Att. xi. 23, vid. ib. 3.

Quod scripsi de nuncio remittendo, quæ sit istius vis hoc tempore,

A. Urb. 708. Cic. 62. C. Jul. Cæsar, Dict. III. M. Æmil. Lepidus, Mag. Equit.

was the same with Dolabella, he was willing enough to part with Tullia, but did not care to break with Cicero, whose friendship was a credit to him; and whom gratitude obliged him to observe and reverence; since Cicero had twice defended and preserved him in capital causes †: so that it seems most probable that the divorce was of an amicable kind; and executed at last by the consent of both sides: for it gave no apparent interruption to the friendship between Cicero and Dolabella, which they carried on with the same shew of affection, and professions of respect toward each other, as if the relation had still subsisted.

Tullia died in childbed, at her husband's house ‡; which confirms the probability of their agreement in the divorce: it is certain, at least, that she died in Rome; where Cicero "was detained," he says, "by "the expectation of the birth, and to receive the first "payment of her fortune back again from Dolabella, "who was then in Spain: she was delivered, as it was "thought, very happily, and supposed to be out of "danger;" when an unexpected turn in her case put an end to her life, to the inexpressible grief of her father *.

We have no account of the issue of this birth, which

pore, et quæ concitatio multitudinis, ignoro. Si metuendus iratus est, quies tamen ab illa fortasse nascetur. Ep. fam. 14. 13.

† Cujus ego salutem duobus capitis judiciis summa contentione defendi——Ep. fam. 3. x.

‡ Plutarch in Cic.

* Me Romæ tenuit omnino Tulliæ meæ partus: sed cum ea, quemadmodum spero, satis firma sit, teneor tamen, dum a Dolabellæ procuratoribus exigam primam pensionem.—Ep. fam. 6. 18.

A. Urb. 708. Cic. 62. C. Jul. Cæsar, Dict. III. M. Æmil. Lepidus, Mag. Equit.

writers confound with that which happened three years before, when she was delivered at the end of seven months of a puny male child: but whether it was from the first, or the second time of her lying in, it is evident that she left a son by Dolabella, who survived her, and whom Cicero mentions more than once in his letters to Atticus, by the name of Lentulus †: desiring him to visit the child, and see a due care taken of him, and to assign him what number of servants he thought proper ‡.

Tullia was about two and thirty years old at the time of her death; and, by the few hints which are left of her character, appears to have been an excellent and admirable woman: she was most affectionately and piously observant of her father; and, to the usual graces of her sex, having added the more solid accomplishments of knowlege and polite letters, was qualified to be the companion, as well as the delight of his age; and was justly esteemed not only as one of the best, but the most learned of the Roman ladies. It is not strange, therefore, that the loss of such a daughter, in the prime of her life, and the most comfortless season of his own, should affect him with all that grief which the greatest calamity could imprint on a temper naturally timid and desponding.

† The father's names were Publius Cornelius Lentulus Dolabella; the two last being surnames acquired perhaps by adoption, and distinguishing the different branches of the Cornelian family.

‡ Velim aliquando, cum erit tuum commodum, Lentulum puerum visas, eique de mancipiis, quæ tibi videbitur, attribuas—ad Att. 12. 28.

Quod Lentulum invisis, valde gratum. Ib. 30—vid. etiam 18.—

A. Urb. 708. Cic. 62. C. Jul. Cæsar, Dict. III. M. Æmil. Lepidus, Mag. Equit.

Plutarch tells us, that the philosophers came from all parts to comfort him; but that can hardly be true, except of those who lived in Rome, or in his own family; for his first care was, to shun all company as much as he could, by removing to Atticus's house; where he lived chiefly in the library; endeavouring to relieve his mind, by turning over every book, which he could meet with, on the subject of moderating grief: * but finding his residence here too public, and a greater resort to him than he could bear, he retired to Astura, one of his seats near Antium; a little island on the Latian shore, at the mouth of a river of the same name, covered with woods and groves, cut out into shady walks; a scene of all others the fittest to indulge melancholy, and where he could give a free course to his grief. "Here," says he, "I live without "the speech of man: every morning early I hide my- "self in the thickest of the wood, and never come out "till the evening: next to yourself, nothing is so dear "to me as this solitude: my whole conversation is "with my books; yet that is sometimes interrupted

N. B. Mr Bayle declares himself surprised, to find Asconius Pædia so ill informed of the history of Tullia, as to tell us, that, after Piso's death, she was married to P. Lentulus, and died in childbed at his house: in which short account, there are contained, he says, two or three lies. But Plutarch confirms the same account; and the mistake will rest at last, not on Asconius, but on Mr Bayle himself, who did not reflect, from the authority of those ancients, that Lentulus was one of Dolabella's names, by which he was called indifferently, as well as by any of the rest. See Bayl. Diction. Artic. Tullia, note. k.

* Me mihi non defuisse tu testis es, nihil enim de mœrore minuendo ab ullo scriptum est, quod ego non domi tuæ legerim. Ad. Att. 12. 14.

A. Urb. 708. Cic. 62. C Jul. Cæsar, Dict. III. M. Æmilius Lepidus. Mag. Equit.

" by my tears, which I resist as well as I can, but am " not yet able to do much †,"

Atticus urged him to quit this retirement, and divert himself with business, and the company of his friends; and put him gently in mind, that, by afflicting himself so immoderately, he would hurt his character, and give people a handle to censure his weakness: to which he makes the following answer.

" As to what you write, that you are afraid lest the " excess of my grief should lessen my credit and au- " thority; I do not know what men would have of " me. Is it, that I should not grieve? that is impos- " sible: or that I should not not be oppressed with " grief? who was ever less so? when I took refuge at " your house, was any man ever denied access to me? " or did any one ever come, who had reason to com- " plain of me? I went from you to Astura? where " those gay sparks, who find fault with me, are not a- " ble even to read so much as I have written: how " well, is nothing to the purpose: yet it is of a kind " which no body could write with a disordered mind " —I spent a month in my gardens about Rome; " where I received all who came with the same easi- " ness as before. At this very moment, while I am " employing my whole time in reading and writing, " those, who are with me, are more fatigued with their

† In hac solitudine careo omnium colloquio, cumque mane in silvam me abstrusi densam et asperam, non exeo inde ante vesperum. Secundum te, nihil mihi amicius solitudine. In ea mihi omnis sermo est cum literis; eum tamen interpellat fletus; cui repugno, quoad possum, sed adhuc pares non sumus. Ib. 15.

A. Urb. 708. Cic. 62. C. Jul. Cæsar, Dict. III. M. Æmilius Lepidus. Mag. Equit.

" leisure, than I with my pains. If any one asks, why " I am not at Rome; because it is vacation time: " why not in some of my villa's, more suitable to the " season: because I could not easily bear so much " company. I am, where he, who has the best house " at Baiæ, chuses to be, in this part of the year. " When I come to Rome, no body shall find any thing " amiss, either in my looks or discourse: as to that chear- " fulness, with which we used to season the misery of " these times, I have lost it indeed for ever; but will " never part with my constancy and firmness, either " of mind or speech, &c ‡."

All his other friends were very officious likewise in making their compliments of condolence, and administering arguments of comfort to him: among the rest, Cæsar himself, in the hurry of his affairs in Spain, wrote him a letter on the occasion, dated from Hispalis, the last of April *. Brutus wrote another, so friendly and affectionate, that it greatly moved him †: Lucceius also, one of the most esteemed writers of that age, sent him two; the first to condole, the second to expostulate with him for persevering to cherish an unmanly and useless grief ‡: but the following letter of Ser. Sulpicius is thought to be a master-piece of the consolatory kind.

‡ Ad Att. 12. 40.

* A Cæsare literas accepi consolatorias, datas prid. Kal. Maii, Hispali. Ad Att. 13. 20.

† Bruti litteræ scriptæ et prudenter et amice, multas tamen mihi lacrimas attulerunt. Ib. 12. 13.

‡ Vid. Ep. fam. 5. 13, 14.

A. Urb. 708. Cic. 62. C. Jul. Cæsar, Dict. III. M. Æmilius Lepidus. Mag. Equit.

SER. SULPICIUS to M. T. CICERO.

" I was exceedingly concerned, as indeed I ought " to be, to hear of the death of your daughter Tullia; " which I looked upon as an affliction common to us " both. If I had been with you, I would have made " it my business to convince you, what a real share I " take in your grief. Though that kind of consola- " tion is but wretched and lamentable, as it is to be " performed by friends and relations, who are over- " whelmed with grief, and cannot enter upon their task " without tears, and seem to want comfort rather them- " selves, than to be in condition to administer it to o- " thers. I resolved therefore to write to you in short, " what occurred upon it to my own mind: not that " I imagined that the same things would not occur " also to you, but that the force of your grief might " possibly hinder your attention to them. What rea- " son is there then to disturb yourself so immoderate- " ly on this melancholy occasion? consider how for- " tune has already treated us: how it has deprived us " of what ought to be as dear to us as children; our " country, credit, dignity, honours. After so misera- " ble a loss as this, what addition can it possibly make " to our grief, to suffer one misfortune more? or how " can a mind, after being exercised in such trials, not " grow callous, and think every thing else of inferior " value? but is it for your daughter's sake that you " grieve? yet how often must you necessarily reflect, " as I myself frequently do, that those cannot be said

A. Urb. 708. Cic. 62. C. Jul. Cæsar, Dict. III. M. Æmilius Lepidus. Mag. Equit.

" to be hardly dealt with, whose lot it has been, in " these times, without suffering any affliction, to ex- " change life for death. For what is there in our pre- " sent circumstances that could give her any great in- " vitation to live? what business? what hopes? what " prospect of comfort before her? was it to pass her " days in the married state, with some young man of " the first quality? (for you, I know, on the account " of your dignity, might have chosen what son-in-law " you pleased out of all our youth, to whose fidelity " you might safely have trusted her,) was it then for " the sake of bearing children, whom she might have " had the pleasure to see flourishing afterwards, in the " enjoyment of their paternal fortunes, and rising gra- " dually to all the honours of the state, and using the " liberty, to which they were born, in the protection " of their friends and clients? but what is there of all " this, which was not taken away before it was even " given to her? but it is an evil, you'll say, to lose our " children. It is so; yet it is much greater to suffer " what we now endure. I cannot help mentioning " one thing, which has given me no small comfort, " and may help also perhaps to mitigate your grief. " On my return from Asia, as I was sailing from Ægi- " na towards Megara, I began to contemplate the " prospect of the countries around me: Ægina was " behind, Megara before me; Piræeus on the right; " Corinth on the left: all which towns, once famous " and flourishing, now lie overturned, and buried in " their ruins: upon this sight, I could not but think " presently within myself, alas! how do we poor mor-

A. Urb. 708. Cic. 62. C. Jul. Cæsar, Dict. III. M. Æmilius Lepidus. Mag. Equit.

" tals fret and vex ourselves, if any of our friends hap-
" pen to die, or to be killed, whose life is yet so short,
" when the carcasses of so many noble cities lie here
" exposed before me in one view? Why wilt thou not
" then command thyself, Servius, and remember, that
" thou art born a man? Believe me, I was not a little
" confirmed by this contemplation: try the force of it,
" therefore, if you please, upon yourself; and imagine
" the same prospect before your own eyes. But to
" come nearer home; when you consider how many
" of our greatest men have perished lately at once;
" what destruction has been made in the empire;
" what havock in all the provinces; how can you be
" so much shocked to be deprived of the fleeting
" breath of one little woman? who, if she had not
" died at this time, must necessarily have died a few
" years after, since that was the condition of her
" being born. But recal your mind from reflections
" of this kind, to the consideration of yourself; and
" think rather on what becomes your character and
" dignity: that your daughter lived as long as life
" was worth enjoying, as long as the republic stood;
" had seen her father Prætor, Consul, Augur; been
" married to the noblest of our youth; had tasted e-
" very good in life; and, when the republic fell, then
" quitted it: what ground is there then, either for you,
" or her, to complain of fortune on this account? In
" short, do not forget that you are Cicero; one, who
" has been used always to prescribe and give advice to
" others; nor imitate those paultry physicians, who
" pretend to cure other people's diseases, yet are not
" able to cure their own; but suggest rather to your-

A. Urb. 708. Cic. 62. C. Jul. Cæsar, Dict. III. M. Æmilius Lepidus. Mag. Equit.

"self the same lesson, which you would give in the "same case. There is no grief so great, which length "of time will not alleviate: but it would be shameful "in you to wait for that time, and not to prevent it "by your wisdom: besides, if there be any sense in "the dead, such was her love and piety to you, that "she must be concerned to see how much you afflict "yourself. Give this therefore to the deceased; give "it to your friends; give it to your country; that it "may have the benefit of your assistance and advice, "whenever there shall be occasion. Lastly, since for-"tune has now made it necessary to us to accommo-"date ourselves to our present situation; do not give "any one a handle to think that you are not so much "bewailing your daughter, as the state of the times, "and the victory of certain persons. I am ashamed "to write any more, lest I should seem to distrust "your prudence; and will add therefore but one "thing farther, and conclude. We have sometimes "seen you bear prosperity nobly, with great honour "and applause to yourself; let us now see, that you "can bear adversity with the same moderation, and "without thinking it a greater burthen than you "ought to do: lest, in the number of all your other "virtues, this one at last be thought to be wanting. "As to myself, when I understand that your mind is "grown more calm and composed, I will send you "word how all things go on here, and what is the "state of the province. Adieu *."

* Ep. fam. 4. 5.

A. Urb. 708. Cic. 62. C. Jul. Cæsar, Dict. III. M. Æmilius Lepidus. Mag. Equit.

His answer to Sulpicius was the same in effect with what he gave to all his friends; "that his case was "different from all the examples which he had been "collecting for his own imitation, of men, who had "born the loss of children with firmness; since they "lived in times when their dignity in the state was "able in great measure to compensate their misfor-"tune: but for me," says he, "after I had lost all "those ornaments which you enumerate, and which "I had acquired with the utmost pains, I have now "lost the only comfort that was left to me. In this "ruin of the republic, my thoughts were not diverted "by serving either my friends or my country: I had "no inclination to the forum; could not bear the "sight of the senate; took myself, as the case in "truth was, to have lost all the fruit of my industry "and fortunes: yet when I reflected that all this was "common to you, and to many others, as well as to "myself; and was forcing myself therefore to bear it "tolerably; I had still in Tullia, somewhat always to "recur to, in which I could acquiesce; and in whose "sweet conversation I could drop all my cares and "troubles: but by this last cruel wound, all the rest, "which seemed to be healed, are broken out again a-"fresh: for as I then could relieve the uneasiness "which the republic gave me, by what I found at "home; so I cannot now, in the affliction, which I "feel at home, find any remedy abroad; but am dri-"ven, as well from my house, as the forum; since

A. Urb. 708. Cic. 62. C. Jul. Cæsar, Dict. III. M. Æmilius Lepidus Mag. Equit.

" neither my house can ease my public grief, nor the " public my domestic one *."

The remonstrances of his friends had but little effect upon him; all the relief that he found, was from reading and writing, in which he continually employed himself; and did what no man had ever done before him, draw up a *treatise of consolation* for himself; from which he professes to have received his greatest comfort; " though he wrote it, he owns, at a time " when, in the opinion of the philosophers, he was not " so wise, as he ought to have been: but I did vio- " lence," says he, " to my nature; to make the great- " ness of my sorrow give place to the greatness of the " medicine; though I acted against the advice of " Chrysippus, who dissuades the application of any " remedy to the first assaults of grief †." In this work he chiefly imitated Crantor, the academic, who had left a celebrated piece on the same subject; yet he inserted also whatever pleased him, from any other author who had written upon it ‡; illustrating

* Ep. fam. 4. 6. it. ad Att. 12. 28.

† Feci, quod ante me nemo, ut ipse me per literas consolarer— affirmo tibi nullam consolationem esse talem. Ad Att. 12. 14. it. ib. 28.

Quid ego de consolatione dicam? quæ mihi quidem ipsi sane aliquantum medetur, cæteris item multum illam profuturam puto. De Div. 2. 1.

In consolationis libro, quem in medio (non enim sapientes eramus) mœrore et dolore conscripsimus: quodque vetat Chrysippus, ad recentes quasi tumores animi remedium adhibere, id nos fecimus, naturæque vim adtulimus, ut magnitudini medicinæ doloris magnitudo concederet. Tusc. Disp. 4. 29.

‡ Crantorem sequor. Plin. Præf. Hist. N.

Neque

A. Urb. 708. Cic. 62. C. Jul. Cæsar, Dict. III. M. Æmilius Lepidus. Mag. Equit.

his precepts all the way, by examples from their own history, of the most eminent Romans of both sexes, who had born the same misfortune with a remarkable constancy. This book was much read by the primitive fathers, especially by Lactantius; to whom we are obliged for the few fragments which remain of it: for, as the critics have long since observed, that piece, which we now see in the collection of his writings, under the title of *Consolation*, is undoubtedly spurious.

But the design of this treatise was, not only to relieve his own mind, but to consecrate the virtues and memory of Tullia to all posterity: Nor did his fondness for her stop here, but suggested the project of a more effectual consecration, by building a temple to her, and erecting her into a sort of deity. It was an opinion of the philosophers, which he himself constantly favoured, and, in his present circumstances, particularly indulged, "that the souls of men were of hea-"venly extraction; and that the pure and chaste, at "their dissolution from the body, returned to the foun-"tain from which they were derived, to subsist eter-"nally in the fruition and participation of the divine "nature; whilst the impure and corrupt were left to "grovel below in the dirt and darkness of these infe-"rior regions." He declares, therefore, "that, as the "wisdom of the ancients had consecrated and deified "many excellent persons of both sexes, whose temples

Neque tamen progredior longius, quam mihi doctissimi homines concedunt, quorum scripta omnia, quæcunque sunt in eam sententiam non legi solum—sed in mea etiam scripta transtuli. Ad Att. 12. 21. it. 22.

A. Urb. 708. Cic. 62. C. Jul. Cæsar Dict. III. M. Æmilius Lepidus Mag. Equit.

" were then remaining; the progeny of Cadmus, of " Amphitryon, of Tyndarus; so he would perform the " same honour to Tullia, who, if any creature had ever " deserved it, was of all the most worthy of it. I will " do it, therefore, (says he,) and consecrate thee, thou " best and most learned of women, now admitted into " the assembly of the gods, to the regard and venera- " tion of all mortals *."

In his letters to Atticus, we find the strongest expressions of his resolution, and impatience to see this design executed: " I will have a temple," says he, " it is not possible to divert me from it—if it be not " finished this summer, I shall not think myself clear " of guilt—I am more religiously bound to the execu- " tion of it, than any man ever was to the perform- " ance of his vow †." He seems to have designed a

* Non enim omnibus illi sapientes arbitrati sunt eundem cursum in cœlum patere. Nam vitiis et sceleribus contaminatos deprimi in tenebras, atque in cœno jacere docuerunt; castos autem animos, puros, integros, incorruptos, bonis etiam studiis atque artibus expolitos, leni quodam ac facili lapsu ad deos, id est, ad naturam sui similem, pervolare. Fragm. Consolat. ex Lactantio.—

Cum vero et mares et fœminas complures ex hominibus in deorum numero esse videamus, et eorum in urbibus atque agris augustissima templa veneremur, assentiamur eorum sapientiæ, quorum ingeniis et inventis omnem vitam legibus et institutis excultam constitutamque habemus. Quod si ullum unquam animal consecrandum fuit, illud profecto fuit. Si Cadmi, aut Amphitryonis progenies, aut Tyndari, in cœlum tollenda fama fuit, huic idem honos certe dicandus est. Quod quidem faciam; tequé omnium optimam doctissimamque, approbantibus diis ipsis, in eorum cœtu locatam, ad opinionem omnium mortalium consecrabo. Ib.—vid. Tusc. Disp. l. 1. c. xi. 12, 30, 31.

† Fanum fieri volo, neque mihi erui potest. (Ad Att. 12. 36.) Redeo ad Fanum, nisi hac æstate absolutum erit—scelere me liberatum

A. Urb. 708. Cic. 62. C. Jul. Cæsar, Dict. III. M. Æmilius Lepidus. Mag. Equit.

fabric of great magnificence; for he had settled the plan with his architect, and contracted for pillars of Chian marble, with a sculptor of that isle; where both the work and the materials were the most esteemed of any in Greece †. One reason, that determined him to a temple, rather than a sepulchre, was, that in the one he was not limited in the expence, whereas, in the other, he was confined by law to a certain sum, which he could not exceed, without the forfeiture of the same sum also to the public: yet this, as he tells us, was not the chief motive, but a resolution, that he had taken, of making a proper apotheosis ‡. The

ratum non putabo. (Ib. 41.) Ego majore religione, quam quisquam fuit ullius voti, obstrictum puto. Ib. 43.

† De Fano illo dico—neque de genere dubito, placet enim mihi Cluati. (Ib. 18.) Tu tamen cum Apella Chio confice de columnis. (Ib. 19.) vid. Plin. Hist. N. 36. 5. 6.

‡ Nunquam mihi venit in mentem, quo plus insumtum in monumentum esset, quam nescio quid, quod lege conceditur, tantumdem populo dandum esse: quod non magnopere moveret, nisi nescio quomodo, ἀλόγως fortasse. Nollem illud ullo nomine nisi Fani appellari. (Att. 12. 35.) Sepulcri similitudinem effugere non tam propter pœnam legis studeo, quam ut maxime assequar ἐναθίσειν. Ib. 36.

This fact seems to confirm what the author of the book of Wisdom observes on the origin of idolatry; that it was owing to the fond affection of parents, seeking to do honour to their deceased children. "The father," says he, "oppressed with an unexpected grief for the sudden death of his child, after making an image of him, began to worship him as a god, though he was but a dead man, and enjoined certain rites and mysteries to his servants and dependents." (Wisd. xiv. 15.) But it was not Cicero's real thought after all to exalt his daughter into a deity: he knew it to be absurd, as he often declares, to pay divine honours to dead mortals; and tells us, how their very publicans had decided that question in Bœotia: for, when the lands of the immortal Gods were excepted out of their lease, by the law of the censors,

A. Urb. 708. Cic. 62. C. Jul. Cæsar, Dict. III. M. Æmilius Lepidus. Mag. Equit.

only difficulty was, to find a place that suited his purpose: his first thought was, to purchase certain gardens cross the Tiber, which, lying near the city, and in the public view, were the most likely to draw a resort of votaries to his new temple: "he presses Atti-"cus therefore to buy them for him at any rate, with-"out regard to his circumstances; since he would sell, "or mortgage, or be content to live on little, rather "than be disappointed: Groves and remote places," he says, "were proper only for deities of an establish-"ed name and religion; but, for the deification of "mortals, public and open situations were necessary, "to strike the eyes, and attract the notice of the peo-"ple." But he found so many obstructions in all his attempts of purchasing, that, to save trouble and expence, Atticus advised him, to build at last in one of his own villas; to which he seemed inclined, lest the summer should pass without doing any thing: yet he was irresolutes till, which of his villas he should chuse;

censors, they denied that any one could be deemed an immortal God, who had once been a man; and so made the land of Amphiaraus and Trophonius pay the same taxes with the rest. (De Nat. Deor. 3. 19.) Yet, in a political view, he sometimes recommends the worship of those sons of men, whom their eminent services to mankind had advanced to the rank of inferior gods, as it inculcated, in a manner the most sensible, the doctrine of the soul's immortality: (De Leg. 2. xi.) And, since a temple was the most ancient way of doing honour to those dead who had deserved it, (Plin Hist. 27.) he considered it as the most effectual method of perpetuating the memory and praises of Tullia; and was willing to take the benefit of the popular superstition, and follow the example of those ancients, who had polished and civilized human life, by consecrating such patterns of virtue to the veneration of their fellow citizens. Vid. Mongault. Not. 1. ad Att. 12. 18.

A. Urb. 708. Cic. 62. C. Jul. Cæsar, Dict. III. M. Æmilius Lepidus. Mag. Equit.

and discouraged, by reflecting on the change of masters, to which all private estates were exposed, in a succession of ages; which might defeat the end of his building, and destroy the honour of his temple; by converting it to other uses, or suffering it to fall into ruins *.

But after all his eagerness and solicitude about this temple, it was never actually built by him; since we find no mention of it in any of the ancient writers; which could not have been omitted, if a fabric so memorable had ever been erected †. It is likely, that as his grief evaporated, and his mind grew more calm, he began to consider his project more philosophically; and to perceive the vanity of expecting any lasting glory from such monuments, which time itself, in the

* Sed ineunda nobis ratio est, quemadmodum in omni mutatione dominorum, qui innumerabiles fieri possunt in infinita posteritate—illud quasi consecratum remanere possit. Equidem jam nihil egeo vectigalibus, et parvo contentus esse possum. Cogito interdum trans Tiberim hortos aliquos parare, et quidem ob hanc causam maxime; nihil enim video quod tam celebre esse posset. (Ad Att. 12. 19.) De hortis, etiam atque etiam te rogo. (Ib. 22.) Ut sæpe locuti sumus, commutationes dominorum reformido. (Ib. 36.) Celebritatem requiro. Ib. 37.

† Cælius Rhodiginus tells us, that, in the time of Sixtus the 4th, there was found near Rome on the Appian way, over against the tomb of Cicero, the body of a woman, whose hair was dressed up in network of gold, and which, from the inscription, was thought to be the body of Tullia. It was entire, and so well preserved by spices, as to have suffered no injury from time; yet when it was removed into the city, it mouldered away in three days. But this was only the hasty conjecture of some learned of that time, which, for want of authority to support it, soon vanished of itself; for no inscription was ever produced to confirm it, nor has it been mentioned, that I know of, by any other author, that there was any sepulchre of Cicero on the Appian way——vid. Cæl. Rhod. Lection. antiq. l. 3. c. 24.

A. Urb. 708. Cic. 62. C. Jul. Cæsar, Dict. III. M. Æmilius Lepidus. Mag. Equit.

course of a few ages, must necessarily destroy: it is certain, at least, that as he made no step towards building it this summer, so Cæsar's death, which happened before the next, gave fresh obstruction to it, by the hurry of affairs in which it engaged him; and though he had not still wholly dropt the thoughts of it, but continued to make preparation, and to set apart a fund for it †, yet, in the short and busy scene of life, which remained to him, he never had leisure enough to carry it into execution.

He was now grown so fond of solitude, that all company was become uneasy to him; and when his friend Philippus, the father-in-law of Octavius, happened to come to his villa in that neighbourhood, he was not a little disturbed at it, from the apprehension of being teized with his visits; and he tells Atticus, with some pleasure, that he had called upon him only to pay a short compliment, and went back again to Rome, without giving him any trouble ‡. His wife Publilia also wrote him word, that her mother and brother intended to wait upon him, and that she would come along with them, if he would give her leave; which she begged in the most earnest and submissive terms;—but his answer was, that he was more indisposed than ever to receive company, and would not have them come: and, lest they should

† Quod ex istis fructuosis rebus receptum est, id ego ad illud fanum sepositum putabam. Ad Att. 15. 15.

‡ Mihi adhuc nihil prius fuit hac solitudine, quam vereor, ne Philippus tollat: heri enim vesperi venerat. Ib. 12. 16.

Quod eram veritus, non obturbavit Philippus: nam ut heri me salutavit, statim Romam profectus est. Ib. 18.

A. Urb. 708. Cic. 62. C. Jul. Cæsar, Dict. III. M. Æmilius Lepidus. Mag. Equit.

come without leave, he desires Atticus to watch their motions, and give him notice, that he might contrive to avoid them *. A denial so peremptory confirms what Plutarch says, that his wife was now in disgrace with him, on account of her carriage towards his daughter, and for seeming to rejoice at her death: a crime which, in the tenderness of his affliction, appeared to him so heinous, that he could not bear the thoughts of seeing her any more; and, though it was inconvenient to him to part with her fortune at this time, yet he resolved to send her a divorce, as a proper sacrifice to the honour of Tullia †.

Brutus likewise about this time took a resolution of putting away his wife Claudia, for the sake of taking Porcia, Bibulus's widow, and his uncle Cato's daughter. But he was much censured for this step; since Claudia had no stain upon her character; was nobly born; the sister of Appius Claudius; and nearly allied to Pompey; so that his mother Servilia, though Cato's sister, seems to have been averse to the divorce, and strongly in the interests of Claudia, against her niece. Cicero's advice upon it was, that if Brutus was

* Publilia ad me scripsit, matrem suam cum Publilio ad me venturam, et se una, si ego paterer: orat multis et supplicibus verbis ut liceat, et ut sibi rescribam——rescripsi, me etiam gravius esse affectum, quam tum, cum illi dixissem, me solum esse vellè, quare nolle me hoc tempore eam ad me venire——te hoc nunc rogo ut explores. Ib. 32.

† This affair of Publilia's divorce is frequently referred to, though with some obscurity, in his letters; and we find Atticus employed by him afterwards to adjust with the brother Publilius, the time and manner of paying back the fortune. Vid. ad Att. 13. 34, 47: 16. 2.

A. Urb. 708. Cic. 62. C. Jul. Cæsar, Dict. III. M. Æmilius Lepidus. Mag. Equit.

resolved upon the thing, he should do it out of hand, as the best way to put an end to peoples talking; by shewing, that it was not done out of levity or complaisance to the times, but to take the daughter of Cato, whose name was highly popular ‡: which Brutus soon after complied with, and made Porcia his wife.

There happened another accident this summer, which raised a great alarm in the city; the surprizing *death* of *Marcellus*, whom Cæsar had lately pardoned. He had left Mitylene, and was come as far as Piræeus, on his way towards Rome; where he spent a day with his old friend and colleague, Serv. Sulpicius, intending to pursue his voyage the day following by sea; but in the night, after Sulpicius had taken leave of him, on the twenty-third of May, he was killed by his friend and client, Magius, who stabbed himself instantly with the same poignard: of which Sulpicius sent the following account to Cicero.

SERV. SULPICIUS to M. T. CICERO.

"Though I know that the news which I am going "to tell you will not be agreeable, yet since chance "and nature govern the lives of us all, I thought it "my duty to acquaint you with the fact, in what "manner soever it happened. On the twenty-second

‡ A te expecto si quid de Bruto: quanquam Nicias confectum putabat, sed divortium non probari.—Ad Att. 13. 9.

Brutus si quid—curabis ut sciam. Cui quidem quam primum agendum puto, præsertim si statuit; sermunculum enim omnem aut restinxerit aut sedarit. Ib. 10.

A. Urb. 708. Cic. 62. C. Jul. Cæsar, Dict. III. M. Æmilius Lepidus. M. Equit.

" of May I came by sea from Epidaurus to Piræeus,
" to meet my colleague Marcellus, and for the sake of
" his company, spent that day with him there. The
" next day, when I took my leave of him, with de-
" sign to go from Athens into Bœotia, to finish the re-
" maining part of my jurisdiction, he, as he told me,
" intended to set sail at the same time towards Italy.
" The day following, about four in the morning, when
" I was preparing to set out from Athens, his friend,
" P. Postumius, came to let me know that Marcellus
" was stabbed by his companion, P. Magius Cilo, af-
" ter supper, and had received two wounds, the one
" in his stomach, the other in his head, near the ear,
" but he was in hopes still that he might live; that
" Magius presently killed himself; and that Marcellus
" sent him to inform me of the case, and to desire that
" I would bring some physicians to him. I got some
" together immediately, and went away with them
" before break of day: but when I was come near Pi-
" ræeus, Acidinius's boy met me with a note from his
" master, in which it was signified, that Marcellus died
" a little before day. Thus a great man was murder-
" ed by a base villain; and he, whom his very ene-
" mies had spared on account of his dignity, received
" his death from the hands of a friend. I went for-
" ward, however, to his tent, where I found two of his
" freedmen, and a few of his slaves; all the rest, they
" said, were fled, being in a terrible fright, on the ac-
" count of their master's murder. I was forced to
" carry his body with me into the city, in the same
" litter in which I came, and by my own servants,

A. Urb. 708. Cic. 62. C. Jul. Cæsar, Dict. III. M. Æmilius Lepidus Mag. Equit.

" where I provided a funeral for him, as splendid as " the condition of Athens would allow. I could not " prevail with the Athenians to grant a place of bu- " rial for him within the city; they said, that it was " forbidden by their religion, and had never been in- " dulged to any man: but they readily granted, what " was most desirable in the next place, to bury him in " any of the public schools that I pleased. I chose a " place, therefore, the noblest in the universe, *the* " *School of the Academy*, where I burnt him; and " have since given orders that the Athenians should " provide a marble monument for him in the same " place. Thus I have faithfully performed to him, " both when living and dead, every duty which our " partnership in office, and my particular relation to " him, required. Adieu. The thirtieth of May from " Athens *."

M. Marcellus was the head of a family, which, for a succession of many ages, had made the first figure in Rome; and was himself adorned with all the virtues that could qualify him to sustain that dignity, which he derived from his noble ancestors. He had formed himself in a particular manner for the bar, where he soon acquired great fame; and, of all orators of his time, seems to have approached the nearest to Cicero himself, in the character of a complete speaker. His manner of speaking was elegant, strong, and copious; with a sweetness of voice, and propriety of action, that added a grace and lustre to every thing that he said.

* Ep. fam. 4. 12.

A. Urb. 708. Cic. 62. C. Jul. Cæsar, Dict. III. M. Æmilius Lepidus. Mag. Equi.

He was a constant admirer and imitator of Cicero; of the same principles in peace, and on the same side in war; so that Cicero laments his absence, as the loss of a companion and partner in their common studies and labours of life. Of all the magistrates, he was the fiercest opposer of Cæsar's power, and the most active to reduce it: his high spirit, and the ancient glory of his house, made him impatient under the thought of receiving a master; and when the battle of Pharsalia seemed at last to have imposed one upon them, he retired to Mitylene, the usual resort of men of learning; there to spend the rest of his days in a studious retreat, remote from arms and the hurry of war; and determined neither to seek nor to accept any grace from the conqueror. Here Brutus paid him a visit, and found him, as he gave an account to Cicero, as perfectly easy and happy under all the misery of the times, from the consciousness of his integrity, as the condition of human life could bear; surrounded with the principal scholars and philosophers of Greece, and eager in the pursuit of knowledge: so that, in departing from him towards Italy, "he seemed," he said, "to be going himself into exile, rather than leaving "Marcellus in it *.

* Mihi, inquit, Marcellus satis est notus. Quid igitur de illo judicas?—quod habiturus es similem tui—ita est, et vehementer placet. Nam et didicit, et omissis cæteris studiis, id egit unum, seseque quotidianis commentationibus acerrime exercuit. Itaque et lectis utitur verbis et frequentibus; et splendore vocis, dignitate motus fit speciosum et illustre, quod dicitur; omniaque sic suppetunt, ut ei nullam deesse virtutem oratoris putem. Brut. 367.

Dolebam,

A. Urb. 708. Cic. 62. C. Jul. Cæsar, Dict. III. M. Æmilius Lepidus. Mag. Equit.

Magius, who killed him, was of a family which had borne some of the public offices, and had himself been quæstor * ; and, having attached himself to the fortunes of Marcellus, and followed him through the wars and his exile, was now returning with him to Italy. Sulpicius gives no hint of any cause that induced him to commit this horrid fact: which, by the immediate death of Magius, could never clearly be known. Cicero's conjecture was, that Magius, oppressed with debts, and apprehending some trouble on that score at his return, had been urging Marcellus, who was his sponsor for some part of them, to furnish him with money to pay the whole; and, by receiving a denial, was provoked to the madness of killing his patron †. Others asssign a different reason, as the rage of jea-

Dolebam, patres conscripti,—illo æmulo atque imitatore studiorum meorum, quasi quodam socio a me et comite distracto—quis enim est illo aut nobilitate, aut probitate, aut optimarum artium studio, aut innocentia, aut ullo genere laudis prestantior? Pro Marcel. 1.

Nostri enim sensus, ut in pace semper, sic tum etiam in bello congruebant. Ib. 6.

Qui hoc tempore ipso—in hoc communi nostro et quasi fatali malo, consoletur se cum conscientia optimæ mentis, tum etiam usurpatione ac renovatione doctrinæ. Vidi enim Mitylenis nuper virum, atque ut dixi, vidi plane virum. Itaque cum eum antea tui similem in dicendo viderim; tum vero nunc doctissimo viro, tibique ut intellexi, amicissimo Cratippo, instructum omni copia, multo videbam similiorem. Brut. ibid. vid. Senec. Consolat. ad Helv. p. 79.

* Vid. Pigh. Annal. A. U. 691.

† Quanquam nihil habeo quod dubitem, nisi ipsi Magio quæ fuerit causa amentiæ. Pro quo quidem etiam sponsor Sunii factus est. Nimirum id fuit. Solvendo enim non erat. Credo eum a Marcello petiisse aliquid, et illum, ut erat, constantius respondisse. Ad Att. 13. 10.

A. Urb. 708. Cic. 62. C. Julius Cæsar, Dict. III. M. Æmilius Lepidus, Mag. Eqit.

lousy, and the impatience of seeing others more favoured by Marcellus, than himself ‡.

As soon as the news reached Rome, it raised a general consternation: and, from the suspicious nature of the times, all people's thoughts were presently turned on Cæsar, as if he were privately the contriver of it; and, from the wretched fate of so illustrious a citizen, every man began to think himself in danger: Cicero was greatly shocked at it, and seemed to consider it as the prelude of some greater evil to ensue; and Atticus, signifying his concern upon it, advises him to take a more particular care of himself, as being the only consular senator left, who stood exposed to any envy *. But Cæsar's friends soon cleared him of all suspicion; as indeed the fact itself did, when the circumstances came to be known, and fixed the whole guilt of it on the fury of Magius.

There appeared at this time a bold impostor, who began to make a great noise and figure in Italy, by assuming the name, and pretending to be the grandson of Caius Marius: but, apprehending that Cæsar would soon put an end to his pretensions, and treat him as he deserved, he sent a pathetic letter to Cicero, by some young fellows of his company, to justify his claim and descent, and to implore his protection against the enemies of his family; conjuring him, by their re-

‡ Indignatus aliquem amicorum ab eo sibi præferri. Val. Max. 9. 11.

* Minime miror te et graviter ferre de Marcello, et plura vereri pericula genera. Quis enim hoc timeret, quod neque acciderat antea, nec videbatur natura ferre, ut accidere posset. Omnia igitur metuenda, &c. Ad Att. 13. 10.

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lation; by the poem, which he had formerly written in praise of Marius; by the eloquence of L. Crassus, his mother's father, whom he had likewise celebrated, that he would undertake the defence of his cause: Cicero answered him very gravely, that he could not want a patron, when his kinsman Cæsar, so excellent and generous a man, was now the master of all; yet, that he also should be ready to favour him *. But Cæsar, at his return, knowing him to be a cheat, banished him out of Italy; since, instead of being what he pretended to be, he was found to be only a farrier, whose true name was Herophilus †.

Ariarathes, the brother and presumptive heir of Ariobarzanes, king of Cappadocia, came to Rome this year; and, as Cicero had a particular friendship with his family, and, when consul, had, by a decree of the senate, conferred upon his father the honour of the regal title, he thought proper to send a servant to meet him on the road, and invite him to his house: but he was already engaged by Sestius, whose office it then was, to receive foreign princes and ambassadors

* Heri—quidam urbani, ut videbantur, ad me mandata et literas attulerunt, a C. Mario, C. F. C. N. multis verbis agere mecum per cognationem, quæ mihi secum esset, per eum Marium, quem scripsissem, per eloquentiam L. Crassi avi sui, ut se defenderem. Rescripsi,—nihil ei patrono opus esse, quoniam Cæsaris, propinqui ejus, omnis potestas esset, viri optimi et hominis liberalissimi: me tamen ei fauturum. Ad Att. 12. 49.

† Herophilus equarius medicus, C. Marium septies Consulem avum sibi vindicando, ita se extulit, ut coloniæ veteranorum complures et municipia splendida, collegiaque fere omnia patronum adoptarent—cæterum decreto Cæsaris extra Italiam relegatus, &c. Val. Max. 9. 15.

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at the public expence; which Cicero was not displeased with, in the present state of his domestic affairs: "he comes," says he, "I guess, to purchase some king-"dom of Cæsar, for he has not at present a foot of "land of his own ‡."

Cicero's whole time during his solitude was employed in reading and writing: this was the business both of his days and nights: "it is incredible," he says, "how much he wrote, and how little he slept: and if "he had not fallen into that way of spending his time, "he should not have known what to do with him-"self *." His studies were chiefly philosophical, which he had been fond of from his youth, and, after a long intermission, now resumed with great ardour; having taken a resolution, to explain to his countrymen, in their own language, whatever the Greeks had taught on every part of philosophy, whether speculative or practical: "For being driven," as he tells us, "from the "public administration, he knew no way so effectual "of doing good, as by instructing the minds, and re-"forming the morals of the youth; which, in the li-"cence of those times, wanted every help to restrain

‡ Ariarathes, Ariobarzani filius, Romam venit. Vult, opinor, regnum aliquod emere a Cæsare: nam, quo modo nunc est, pedem ubi ponat in suo non habet. Omnino eum Sestius noster parochus publicus occupavit: quod quidem facile patior. Veruntamen quod mihi, summo beneficio meo, magna cum fratribus illius necessitudo est, invito eum per literas, ut apud me diversetur. Ad Att. 13. 2.

* Credibile non est, quantum scribam die, quin etiam noctibus. Nihil enim somni. Ib. 26.

Nisi mihi hoc venisset in mentem scribere ista nescio quæ, quo verterem me non haberem. Ib. 10.

A. Urb. 708. Cic. 62.—C. Jul. Cæsar Dict. III. M. Æmilius Lepidus. Mag. Equit.

" and correct them. The calamity of the city," says he," made this task necessary to me: since, in the " confusion of civil arms, I could neither defend it af- " ter my old way; nor, when it was impossible for me " to be idle, could I find any thing better on which to " employ myself. My citizens therefore will pardon, " or rather thank me, that, when the government was " fallen into the power of a single person, I neither " wholly hid, nor afflicted myself unnecessarily; nor " acted in such a manner as to seem angry at the " man, or the times; nor yet flattered or admired the " fortune of another so, as to be displeased with my " own. For I had learnt from Plato and philosophy, " that these turns and revolutions of states are natural; " sometimes into the hands of *a few*, sometimes of *the* " *many*, sometimes *of one:* as this was the case of our " own republic, so when I was deprived of my former " post in it, I betook myself to these studies, in order " to relieve my mind from the sense of our common " miseries, and to serve my country at the same time " in the best manner that I was able: for my books " supplied the place of my votes in the senate, and " of my speeches to the people, and I took up philo- " sophy, as a substitute for my management of the " state †."

He now published, therefore, in the way of dialogue, a book which he called *Hortensius*, in honour of his deceased friend; where, in a debate of learning, he

† Divin. 2. 2.—de Fin. 1. 3.

A. Urb. 708. Cic. 62. C Jul. Cæsar, Dict. III. M. Æmilius Lepidus. Mag. Equit.

did, what he had often done in contests of the bar, undertake the defence of philosophy against Hortensius, to whom he assigned the part of arraigning it †. It was the reading of this book, long since unfortunately lost, which first inflamed St Austin, as he himself somewhere declares, to the study of the *Christian Philosophy*: and if it had yielded no other fruit, yet happy it was to the world, that it once subsisted, to be the instrument of raising up so illustrious a convert and champion to the *Church of Christ* ‡.

He drew up also about this time, in four books, a particular account and defence of the *Philosophy of the Academy*; the sect which he himself followed, being, as he says, of all others the most consistent with itself, and the least arrogant, as well as most elegant *. He had before published a work on the same subject in two books, the one called *Catulus*, the other *Lucullus*: but considering that the argument was not suited to the characters of the speakers, who were

† Cohortati sumus, ut maximè potuimus, ad philosophiæ studium eo libro, qui est inscriptus, Hortensius—de Div. 2. 1.

Nos autem universæ philosphiæ virtuperatoribus respondimus in Hortensio. Tusc. Dip. 2. 2.

‡ It is certain, that *all the Latin Fathers* made great use of *Cicero's writings*; and especially Jerome, who was not so grateful as Austin, in acknowledging the benefit; for, having conceived some scruples on that score in his declining age, he endeavoured to discourage his disciples from reading them at all; and declared, *that he had not taken either Cicero or Maro, or any heathen writer, into his hands for above fifteen years*: for which his adversary Ruffinus rallies him very severely. Vid. Hieron. Op. Tom. 4. par. 2. p. 414. it. par. 1. p. 288. Edit. Benedict.—

* Quod genus philosophandi minime arrogans, maximeque et constans, et elegans arbitraremur, quatuor Academicis libris ostendimus. De Divin. 2. 1.

A. Urb. 708. Cic. 62. C. Jul. Cæsar, Dict. III. M. Æmil. Lepidus, Mag. Equit.

not particularly remarkable for any study of that sort, he was thinking to change them to Cato and Brutus: when Atticus happening to signify to him, that Varro had expressed a desire to be inserted in some of his writings, he presently reformed his scheme, and enlarged it into four books, which he addressed to Varro, taking upon himself the part of Philo, of defending the *Principles of the Academy*, and assigning to Varro that of Antiochus, of opposing and confuting them, and introducing Atticus as the moderator of the dispute. He finished the whole with great accuracy, so as to make it a present worthy of Varro; "and if he "was not deceived," he says, "by a partiality, and "self-love, too common in such cases, there was no-"thing on the subject equal to it, even among the "Greeks †." All these four books, excepting part of the first, are now lost, whilst the second book of the first edition, which he took some pains to suppress, remains still entire, under its original title of Lucullus.

He published likewise this year one of the noblest of his works, and on the noblest subject of philosophy, his treatise called, *De Finibus, or of the Chief Good and*

† Ergo illam Ἀκαδημικὴν, in qua homines, nobiles illi quidem, sed nullo modo philologi, nimis acute loquuntur, ad Varronem transferamus—Catulo et Lucullo alibi reponemus.—Ad Att. 13. 12.

Quod ad me de Varrone scripseras, totam Academiam ab hominibus nobilissimis abstuli; transtuli ad nostrum sodalem, et ex duobus libris contuli in quatuor—libri quidem ita exierunt. (nisi me forte communis φιλαυτία decipit) ut in tali genere ne apud Græcos quidem quicquam simile. Ib. 13. vide it. ib. 16. 19.

A. Urb. 708. Cic. 62. C. Jul. Cæsar, Dict. III. M. Æmil. Lepidus, Mag. Equit.

Ill of Man, written in Aristotle's manner ‡, in which he explained, with great elegance and perspicuity, the several opinions of all the ancient sects on that important question. "It is there required," he tells us, "what is the chief end to which all the views of life "ought to be referred, in order to make it happy: or "what it is which nature pursues as the supreme "good, and shuns as the worst of ills *." The work consists of five books: in the two first, *the Epicurean doctrine* is largely opened and discussed, being defended by Torquatus, and confuted by Cicero, in a conference supposed to be held in his Cuman Villa, in the presence of Triarius, a young gentleman who came with Torquatus to visit him. The two next explain *the doctrine of the Stoics*, asserted by Cato, and opposed by Cicero, in a friendly debate, upon their meeting accidentally in Lucullus's library. The fifth contains the opinions *of the old Academy, or the Peripatetics*, explained by Piso in a third dialogue, supposed to be held at Athens, in the presence of Cicero, his brother Quintus, his cousin Lucius, and Atticus. The critics have observed some impropriety in this last book, in making Piso refer to the other two dialogues, of which he had no share, and could not be presumed to have any knowledge †. But if any inaccuracy of that kind be really found in this, or any other of his

‡ Quod autem his temporibus scripsi Ἀριστότελειος morem habent—ita confeci quinque libros περὶ τελῶν—ib. 19.

* Tum id, quod his libris quæritur, quid sit finis, quid extremum, quid ultimum, quo sint omnia bene vivendi, recteque faciendi consilia referenda. Quid sequatur natura, ut summum ex rebus expetendis; quid fugiat ut extremum malorum. De Fin. I. 4.

A. Urb. 708. Cic. 62. C. Jul. Cæs. Dict. III. M. Æmil. Lepidus. Mag. Equit.

works, it may reasonably be excused by that multiplicity of affairs, which scarce allowed him time to write, much less to revise what he wrote: and in dialogues of length, composed by piece-meal, and in the short intervals of leisure, it cannot seem strange that he should sometimes forget his artificial, to resume his proper character, and enter inadvertently into a part which he had assigned to another. He addressed this work to Brutus, in return for a present of the same kind, which Brutus had sent to him a little before, *a Treatise upon Virtue* ‡.

Not long after he had finished this work, he published another of equal gravity, called his *Tusculan Disputations*, in five books also, upon as many different questions in philosophy, the most important and useful to the happiness of human life. The *first* teaches us, "how to contemn the terrors of death, and to look upon it as a blessing rather than an evil:" The *second*, "to support pain and affliction with a manly fortitude:" The *third*, "to appease all our complaints "and uneasinesses under the accidents of life:" The *fourth*, "to moderate all our other passions:" The *fifth*, "to evince the sufficiency of virtue to make man happy." It was his custom, in the opportunities of his leisure, to take some friends with him into the country, where, instead of amusing themselves with idle sports or feasts, their diversions were wholly speculative, tending to improve the mind and enlarge the un-

† Vid. Præfat. Davis in Lib de finib.

‡ De Finib. 1. 3.

A. Urb. 708. Cic. 62. C. Jul. Cæsar, Dict. III. M. Æmilius Lepidus. Mag. Equit.

derstanding. In this manner he now spent five days at his Tusculan villa, in discussing with his friends the several questions just mentioned: For, after employing the mornings in declaiming and rhetorical exercises, they used to retire, in the afternoon, into a gallery, called the *Academy*, which he had built for the purpose of philosophical conferences; where, after the manner of the Greeks, he held a school, as they called it, and invited the company to call for any subject that they desired to hear explained; which, being proposed accordingly by some of the audience, became immediately the argument of that day's debate. These five conferences or dialogues he collected afterwards into writing, in the very words and manner in which they really passed, and published them under the title of his *Tusculan Disputations*, from the name of the villa in which they were held *.

He wrote also a little piece, in the way of a funeral encomium, in praise of Porcia, the sister of Cato, and wife of Domitius Ahenobarbus, Cæsar's mortal enemy; which shews how little he was still disposed to court the times. Varro and Lollius attempted the same subject; and Cicero desires Atticus to send him their compositions; but all the three are now lost, though Cice-

* In Tusculano, cum essent complures mecum familiares—ponere jubebam, de quo quis audire vellet; ad id aut sedens aut ambulans disputabam. Itaque dierum quinque Scholas, ut Græci appellant, in totidem libros contuli. Tusc. Disp. 1. 4.

Itaque cum ante meridiem dictioni operam dedissemus—post meridiem in *academiam* descendimus; in qua disputationem habitam non quasi narrantes exponimus, sed eisdem fere verbis ut actum disputatumque est. Ib. 2. 3. 3.

ro took the pains to revise and correct his, and sent copies of it afterwards to Domitius the son, and Brutus the nephew of that Porcia †.

Cæsar continued all this while in Spain, pursuing the sons of Pompey, and providing for the future peace and settlement of the province; whence he paid Cicero the compliment of sending him an account of his success with his own hand. Hirtius also gave him early intelligence of the defeat and flight of the two brothers, which was not disagreeable to him; for, though he was not much concerned about the event of the war, and expected no good from it on either side, yet the opinion which he had conceived of the fierceness and violence of the young Pompeys, especially of the elder of them, Cnæus, engaged his wishes rather for Cæsar. In a letter to Atticus, "Hirtius, (says he,) wrote "me word, that Sextus Pompey had withdrawn himself "from Corduba into the hither Spain; and that Cnæus "too was fled, I know not whither, nor in truth do I "care ‡:" And this indeed seems to have been the common sentiment of all the republicans, as Cassius himself, writing to Cicero on the same subject, declares still more explicitly: "May I perish, (says he,) if I be "not solicitous about the event of things in Spain, and "would rather keep our old and clement master, than

† Laudationem Porciæ tibi misi correctam: ac eo properavi; ut si forte aut Domitio filio aut Bruto mitteretur, hæc mitteretur. Id si tibi erit commodum, magnopere cures velim; et velim M. Varronis, Lolliique mittas laudationem. Ad Att. 13. 48. it. ib. 37.

‡ Hirtius ad me scripsit, Sex. Pompeium Corduba exisse, et fugisse in Hispaniam citeriorem; Cnæum fugisse nescio quo, neque enim curo. Ad Att. 12. 37.

" try a new and cruel one. You know what a fool " Cnæus is; how he takes *cruelty for a virtue*; how " he has always thought that we laughed at him: I " am afraid, lest he should take it into his head to re- " pay our jokes, in his rustic manner, with the sword §."

Young Quintus Cicero, who made the campaign along with Cæsar, thinking to please his company, and to make his fortunes the better among them, began to play over his old game, and to abuse his uncle again in all places. Cicero, in his account of it to Atticus, says, " there is nothing new, but that Hirtius has been " quarrelling in my defence with our nephew Quintus, " who takes all occasions of saying every thing bad of " me, and especially at public feasts; and when he has " done with me, falls next upon his father: He is " thought to say nothing so credible, as that we are " both irreconcilable to Cæsar; that Cæsar should trust " neither of us, and even beware of me: This would " be terrible, did I not see that our *king* is persuaded " that I have no spirit left *."

Atticus was always endeavouring to moderate Cicero's impatience under the present government, and

§ Peream, nisi solicitus sum; ac malo veterem ac clementem dominum habere, quam novum et crudelem experiri. Scis, Cnæus quam sit fatuus; scis quomodo crudelitatem virtutem putet; scis, quam se semper a nobis derisum putet.

* Vereor, ne nos rustice gladio velit ἀνθιμυκτηρίσαι. Ep. Fam. 15. 19.

* Novi sane nihil, nisi Hirtium cum Quinto acerrime pro me litigasse; omnibus eum locis facere, maximeque in conviviis; cum multa de me, tum redire ad patrem: Nihil autem ab eo tam ἀξιοπίστως dici, quam alienissimos nos esse a Cæsare; fidem nobis habendam non esse; me vero cavendum. φοβερὸν ἦν, nisi viderem scire Regem, me animi nihil habere. Ad Att. 13. 37.

A. Urb. 708. Cic. 62. C. Jul. Cæsar, Dict. III. M. Æmil. Lepidus. Mag. Equit.

persuading him to comply more chearfully with the times; nor to reject the friendship of Cæsar, which was so forwardly offered to him: And, upon his frequent complaints of the slavery and indignity of his present condition, he took occasion to observe, what Cicero could not but own to be true, "that, if to pay "a particular court and observance to a man was the "mark of slavery, those in power seemed to be slaves "rather to him, than he to them †." With the same view, he was now pressing him, among his other works, to think of something to be addressed to Cæsar; but Cicero had no appetite to this task; he saw how difficult it would be to perform it, without lessening his character, and descending to flattery; yet being urged to it also by other friends, he drew up a letter, which was communicated to Hirtius and Balbus, for their judgment upon it, whether it was proper to be sent to Cæsar? The subject seems to have been some advice about restoring the peace and liberty of the republic, and to dissuade him from the Parthian war, which he intended for his next expedition, till he had finished the more necessary work of settling the state of things at home. There was nothing in it, he says, but what might come from the best of citizens. It was drawn however with so much freedom, that, though Atticus seemed pleased with it, yet the other two durst not advise the sending it, unless some passages were altered and softened, which disgusted Cicero so much,

† Et si mehercule, ut tu intelligis, magis mihi isti serviunt, si observare servire est, Ad Att. 13. 49.

A. Urb. 708. Cic. 62. C. Jul. Cæsar, Dict. III. M. Æmil. Lepidus. Mag. Equit.

that he resolved not to write at all; and, when Atticus was still urging him to be more complaisant, he answered with great spirit in two or three letters ‡.

"As for the letter to Cæsar," says he, "I was always very willing that they should first read it: "for otherwise I had been wanting in civility to "them; and if I had happened to give offence, "exposed myself also to danger. They have dealt "ingenuously and kindly with me, in not concealing "what they thought: but what pleases me the most "is, that, by requiring so many alterations, they give "me an excuse for not writing at all. As to the Parthian war, what had I to consider about it, but that "which I thought would please him? for what subject was there else for a letter, but flattery? or if I "had a mind to advise, what I really took to be the "best, could I have been at a loss for words? there "is no occasion therefore for any letter: for where "there is no great matter to be gained, and a slip, "though not great, may make us uneasy, what reason is there to run any risk? especially when it is "natural for him to think, that as I wrote nothing to "him before, so I should have written nothing now, "had not the war been wholly ended: besides, I am

‡ Epistolam ad Cæsarem mitti video tibi placere—mihi quidem hoc idem maxime placuit, et eo magis, quod nihil est in ea nisi optimi civis sed ita optimi, ut tempora, quibus parere omnes πολίται præcipiunt. Sed scis ita nobis esse visum, ut isti ante legerent. Tu igitur id curabis. Sed nisi plane intelliges iis placere, mittenda non est. Ad Att. 12. 51.

De epistola ad Cæsarem, κέφαια. Atque id ipsum, quod isti aiunt illum scribere, se, nisi constitutis rebus, non iturum in Parthos, idem ego suadebam in illa epistola. Ib. 13. 31.

A. Urb. 708. Cic. 62. C. Jul. Cæsar, Dict. III. M. Æmilius Lepidus. Mag. Equit.

" afraid lest he should imagine, that I sent this as a " sweetner for my Cato: in short, I was heartily a- " shamed of what I had written; and nothing could " fall out more luckily, than that it did not please *."*

Again, " As for writing to Cæsar, I swear to you, " I cannot do it: nor is it yet the shame of it that de- " tets me, which ought to do it the most; for how " mean would it be to flatter, when even to live is " base in me? but it is not, as I was saying, this " shame which hinders me, though I wish it did; for " I should then be, what I ought to be; but I can " think of nothing to write upon. As to those ex- " hortations, addressed to Alexander, by the eloquent " and the learned of that time, you see on what " points they turn: they are addressed to a youth, " inflamed with the thirst of true glory, and desiring " to be advised how to acquire it. On an occasion " of such dignity, words can never be wanting; but " what can I do on my subject? Yet I had scratch- " ed, as it were, out of the block, some faint resem- " blance of an image: but because there were some " things hinted in it, a little better, than what we see " done every day, it was disliked: I am not at all " sorry for it; for had the letter gone, take my word " for it, I should have had cause to repent. For do " you not see that very scholar of Aristotle, a youth of " the greatest parts, and the greatest modesty, after " he came to be called a king, grow proud, cruel, ex- " travagant? Do you imagine, that this man, ranked

* Ad Att. 13. 27.

A. Urb. 708. Cic. 62. C. Jul. Cæsar, Dict. III. M. Æmilius Lepidus. Mag. Equit.

" in the processions of the gods, and enshrined in the " same temple with Romulus, will be pleased with " the moderate stile of my letters? It is better that " he be disgusted at my not writing, than at what I " write: in a word, let him do what he pleases; for " that problem, which I once proposed to you, and " thought so difficult, in what way I should manage " him, is over with me: and in truth, I now wish " more, to feel the effect of his resentment, be it " what it will, than I was before afraid of it *." " I " beg of you therefore," says he, in another letter, " let us have no more of this; but shew ourselves at " least half free, by our silence and retreat †."

From this little fact, one cannot help reflecting on the fatal effects of arbitrary power, upon the studies and compositions of men of genius, and on the restraint that it necessarily lays on the free course of good sense and truth among men. It had yet scarce shewn itself in Rome, when we see one of the greatest wits which that republic ever bred, embarrassed in the choice of a subject to write upon; and, for fear of offending, chusing not to write at all: and it was the same power which, from this beginning, gradually debased the purity both of the Roman wit and language, from the perfection of elegance to which Cicero had advanced them, to that state of rudeness and barbarism, which we find in the productions of the lower empire.

* Ad Att. 13. 28.

† Obsecro, abjiciamus ista; et semiliberi saltem simus; quod assequemur et tacendo, et latendo—ib. 31.

A. Urb. 708. Cic. 62. C. Julius Cæsar Dict. III. M. Æmilius Lepidus. Mag. Equit.

This was the present state of things between Cæsar and Cicero; all the marks of kindness on Cæsar's part; of coldness and reserve on Cicero's. Cæsar was determined never to part with his power, and took the more pains, for that reason, to make Cicero easy under it: he seems indeed to have been somewhat afraid of him; not of his engaging in any attempt against his life; but lest, by his insinuations, his railleries, and his authority, he should excite others to some act of violence: but what he more especially desired and wanted, was to draw from him some public testimony of his approbation; and to be recommended by his writings to the favour of posterity.

Cicero, on the other hand, perceiving no step taken towards the establishment of the republic, but more and more reason every day to despair of it, grew still more indifferent to every thing else: the restoration of public liberty was the only condition on which he could entertain any friendship with Cæsar, or think and speak of him with any respect: without that, no favours could oblige him; since to receive them from a master, was an affront to his former dignity, and but a splendid badge of servitude: books therefore were his only comfort; for while he conversed with them, he found himself easy, and fancied himself free.—— Thus in a letter to Cassius, touching upon the misery of the times, he adds, "What is become then, you'll "say, of philosophy? Why, yours is in the kitchen; "but mine is troublesome to me: for I am ashamed "to live a slave; and feign myself therefore to be do-

" ing something else, that I may not hear the reproach " of Plato *."

During Cæsar's stay in Spain, Antony set forward from Italy, to pay his compliments to him there, or to meet him at least on the road in his return towards home: but when he had made about half of the journey, he met with some dispatches, which obliged him to turn back in all haste to Rome. This raised a new alarm in the city; and especially among the Pompeians, who were afraid that Cæsar, having now subdued all opposition, was resolved, after the example of former conquerors, to take his revenge in cool blood on all his adversaries; and had sent Antony back, as the properest instrument to execute some orders of that sort. Cicero himself had the same suspicion, and was much surprised at Antony's sudden return; till Balbus and Oppius eased him of his apprehensions, by sending him an account of the true reason of it †: which, contrary to expectation, gave no uneasiness at last to any body but to Antony himself. Antony had bought Pompey's houses in Rome, and the neighbourhood, with all their rich furniture, at Cæsar's auction, soon after his return from Egypt; but trusting to his interest with Cæsar, and to the part which he had

* Ubi igitur, inquies, philosophia? Tua quidem in culina; mea molesta est. Pudet enim servire. Itaque facio me alias res agere, ne convicium Platonis audiam. Ep. fam. 15. 18.

† Heri cum ex aliorum literis cognovissem de Antonii adventu, admiratus sum nihil esse in tuis. Ad Att. 12. 18.

De Antonio Balbus quoque ad me cum Oppio conscripsit, idque tibi placuisse, ne perturbarer. Illis ego gratias.—ib. 19.

A. Urb. 708. Cic. 62. C. Jul. Cæsar, Dict. III. M. Æmilius Lepidus. Mag. Equit.

borne in advancing him to his power, never dreamt of being obliged to pay for them; but Cæsar, being disgusted by the account of his debauches and extravagancies in Italy, and resolved to shew himself the sole master, nor suffer any contradiction to his will, sent peremptory orders to L. Plancus, the prætor, to require immediate payment of Antony, or else to levy the money upon his sureties, according to the tenor of their bond. This was the cause of his quick return, to prevent that disgrace from falling upon him, and find some means of complying with Cæsar's commands: it provoked him however to such a degree, that, in the height of his resentment, he is said to have entered into a design of taking away Cæsar's life; of which Cæsar himself complained openly in the senate ‡.

The war being ended in Spain, by the death of Cnæus Pompey, and the flight of Sextus, Cæsar finished his answer to Cicero's Cato, in two books, which he sent immediately to Rome, in order to be published. This gave Cicero at last the argument of a letter to him, to return thanks for the great civility with which he had treated him in that piece; and to pay his compliments likewise, in his turn, upon the elegance of the

† Appellatus es de pecunia, quam pro domo, pro hortis, pro sectione debebas.—et ad te et ad prædes tuos milites misit——(Phil. 2. 29.) Idcirco urbem terrore nocturno, Italiam multorum dierum metu perturbasti—ne L. Plancus prædes tuos venderet—(ib. 31.) Quin his ipsis temporibus domi Cæsaris percussor ab isto missus, deprehensus dicebatur esse cum sica. De quo Cæsar in senatu, aperte in te invehens, questus est—ib. 29.

A. Urb. 708. Cic. 62. C. Jul. Cæsar, Dict. III. M. Æmilius Lepidus. Mag. Equit.

composition. This letter was communicated again to Balbus and Oppius, who declared themselves extremely pleased with it, and forwarded it directly to Cæsar. In Cicero's account of it to Atticus, "I forgot," says he, "to send you a copy of what I wrote to Cæsar: "not for the reason, which you suspect, that I was a- "shamed to let you see how well I could flatter: for "in truth, I wrote to him no otherwise than as if I was "writing to an equal; for I really have a good opi- "nion of his two books, as I told you, when we were "together; and wrote therefore both without flatter- "ing him; and yet so, that he will read nothing, I "believe, with more pleasure §."

A. Urb. 708. Cic. 62. Coss.—Q. Fabius Maximus. C. Trebonius.

CÆSAR returned to Rome about the end of September; when, divesting himself of the consulship, he conferred it on Q. Fabius Maximus, and C. Trebonius, for the three remaining months of the year *. His

§ Conscripsi de his libris epistolam Cæsari, quæ deferretur ad Dolabellam: sed ejus exemplum misi ad Balbum et Oppium, scripsique ad eos, ut tum deferri ad Dolabellam juberent meas literas, si ipsi exemplum probassent; ita mihi rescripserunt, nihil unquam se legisse melius. Ad Att. 13. 50.

Ad Cæsarem quam misi epistolam, ejus exemplum fugit me tum tibi mittere; nec id fuit quod suspicaris, ut me puderet tui—nec mehercule scripsi aliter, ac si πρὸς ἴσον ἴσους que scriberem. Bene enim existimo de illis libris, ut tibi coram. Itaque scripsi ϛt ἀκολακεύτως, et tamen sic, ut nihil eum existimem lecturum libentius. Ib. 51.

* Utroque anno binos consules substituit sibi in ternos novissimos menses. Suet. J. Cæs. 76.

A. Urb. 708. Cic. 62. Coss.—Q. Fabius Maximus. C. Trebonius.

first care, after his arrival, was to entertain the city with the most splendid triumph which Rome had ever seen: but the people, instead of admiring and applauding it, as he expected, were sullen and silent; considering it, as it really was, a triumph over themselves; purchased by the loss of their liberty, and the destruction of the best and noblest families of the republic. They had before given the same proof of their discontent at the Circensian games; where Cæsar's statue, by a decree of the senate, was carried in the procession along with those of the gods: for they gave none of their usual acclamations to the favourite deities, as they passed, lest they should be thought to give them to Cæsar. Atticus sent an account of it to Cicero, who says, in answer to him, "Your letter was agreeable, though the shew was so sad—the people however behaved bravely, who would not clap even the goddess Victory, for the sake of so bad a neighbour*." Cæsar however, to make amends for the unpopularity of his triumph, and to put the people into good humour, entertained the whole city soon after with something more substantial than shews; two public dinners, with plenty of the most esteemed and costly wines of Chios and Falernum †.

* Suaves tuas literas! etsi acerba pompa—populum verò præclarum, quod propter tam malum vicinum, ne Victoriæ quidem ploditur. Ad Att. 13. 44.

† Quid non et Cæsar Dictator triumphi sui cœna vini Falerni amphoras, Chii cados in convivia distribuit? idem in Hispaniensi triumpho Chium et Falernum dedit. Plin. Hist. 14. 15.

Adjecit post Hispaniensem victoriam duo prandia. Sueton. 38.

A. Urb. 708. Cic. 62. Coss.—Q. Fabius Maximus. C. Trebonius.

Soon after Cæsar's triumph, the consul Fabius, one of his lieutenants in Spain, was allowed to triumph too, for the reduction of some parts of that province which had revolted: but the magnificence of Cæsar's made Fabius's triumph appear contemptible; for his models of the conquered towns, which were always a part of the shew, being made only of wood, when Cæsar's were of silver or ivory, Chrysippus merrily called them the cases only of Cæsar's towns §.

Cicero resided generally in the country, and withdrew himself wholly from the senate *: but, on Cæsar's approach towards Rome, Lepidus began to press him by repeated letters, to come and give them his assistance; assuring him, that both he and Cæsar would take it very kindly of him. He could not guess, for what particular service they wanted him, except the dedication of some temple, to which the presence of three augurs was necessary †. But whatever it was, as his friends had long been urging the same advice, and persuading him to return to public affairs, he consented at last, to quit his retirement and come to the city; where, soon after Cæsar's arrival, he had an opportunity of employing his authority and eloquence,

§ Ut Chrysippus, cum in triumpho Cæsaris eborea oppida essent translata, et post dies paucos Fabii Maximi lignea, thecas esse oppidorum Cæsaris dixit. Quintil. 6. 3. Dio. 234.

* Cum his temporibus non sane in senatum ventitarem—Ep. fam. 13. 77.

† Ecce tibi, orat Lepidus, ut veniam. Opinor augures nil habere ad templum effandum. Ad Att. 13. 42.

Lepidus ad me heri—literas misit. Rogat magnopere ut sim Kalend. in senatu, me et sibi et Cæsari vehementer gratum esse facturum—ib. 47.

A. Urb. 708. Cic. 62. Coss.—Q. Fabius Maximus. C. Trebonius.

where he exerted them always with the greatest pleasure, in the service and defence of an old friend, king Deiotarus.

This prince had already been deprived by Cæsar of part of his dominions, for his adherence to Pompey, and was now in danger of losing the rest, from an accusation preferred against him by his grandson, of a design pretended to have been formed by him against Cæsar's life, when Cæsar was entertained at his house, four years before, on his return from Egypt. The charge was groundless and ridiculous; but, under his present disgrace, any charge was sufficient to ruin him; and Cæsar's countenancing it so far, as to receive and hear it, shewed a strong prejudice against the king; and that he wanted only a pretence for stripping him of all that remained to him. Brutus likewise interested himself very warmly in the same cause; and when he went to meet Cæsar, on his road from Spain, made an oration to him at Nicæa, in favour of Deiotarus, with a freedom which startled Cæsar, and gave him occasion to reflect, on what he had not perceived so clearly before, the invincible fierceness and vehemence of Brutus's temper ‡. The present trial was held in Cæsar's house; where Cicero so manifestly exposed the malice of the accuser, and the innocence of the ac-

‡ Ad Att. 14. 1. The Jesuits, Catrou and Rouille, take Nicæa, where Brutus made this speech, to be the capital of Bithynia, Deiotarus's kingdom: but it was a city on the Ligurian coast, still called Nice, where Brutus met Cæsar on his last return from Spain, and when he was not able to prevail for Deiotarus, Cicero was forced to undertake the cause as soon as Cæsar came to Rome. Vid. Hist. Tom. 17. p. 91. note.

A. Urb. 708. Cic. 62. Coss.—Q. Fabius Maximus. C. Trebonius.

cused, that Cæsar, being determined not to acquit, yet ashamed to condemn him, chose the expedient of reserving his sentence to farther deliberation, till he should go in person into the east, and inform himself of the whole affair upon the spot. Cicero says, "that "Deiotarus, neither present nor absent, could ever ob- "tain any favour or equity from Cæsar: and that as "oft as he pleaded for him, which he was always ready "to do, he could never persuade Cæsar, to think any "thing reasonable that he asked for him §." He sent a copy of his oration to the king; and, at Dolabella's request, gave another likewise to him: excusing it, as a trifling performance, and hardly worth transcribing; but "I had a mind," says he, "to make a slight pre- "sent to my old friend and host, of coarse stuff in- "deed, yet such as his presents usually are to me *."

Some little time after this trial, Cæsar, to shew his confidence in Cicero, invited himself to spend a day with him, at his house in the country; and chose the third day of the Saturnalia for his visit; a season always dedicated to mirth and feasting among friends and relations †. Cicero gives Atticus the following

§ Quis enim cuiquam inimicitior, quam Deiotaro Cæsar?—a quo nec præsens, nec absens rex Deiotarus quidquam æqui boni impetravit—ille nunquam, semper enim absenti affui Deiotaro, quicquam sibi, quod nos pro illo postularemus, æquum dixit videri. Philip. 2. 37.

* Oratiunculum pro Deiotaro, quam requirebas——tibi misi. Quam velim sic legas, ut causam tenuem et inopem, nec scriptione magno opere dignam. Sed ego hospiti veteri et amico munusculum mittere volui levidense, crasso filo, cujusmodi ipsius solent esse munera. Ep. fam. 9. 12.

† This festival, after Cæsar's reformation of the kalendar, began on

A. Urb. 708. Cic. 62. Cos.—Q. Fabius Maximus. C. Trebonius.

account of the entertainment, and how the day passed between them. "O this guest," says he, "whom I so "much dreaded! yet I had no reason to repent of him: "for he was well pleased with his reception. When "he came the evening before, on the eighteenth, to "my neighbour Philip's, the house was so crowded "with soldiers, that there was scarce a room left emp- "ty for Cæsar to sup in: there were about two thou- "sand of them: which gave me no small pain for the "next day: but Barba Cassius relieved me; for he "assigned me a guard, and made the rest encamp in "the field: so that my house was clear. On the nine- "teenth, he staid at Philip's till one in the afternoon; "but saw no body; was settling accounts, I guess, "with Balbus; then took a walk on the shore; bath- "ed after two; heard the verses on Mamurra ‡; at "which he never changed countenance; was rubbed, "anointed, sat down to table. Having taken a vomit "just before, he eat and drank freely, and was very

on the 17th of December, and lasted three days. Macrob. Saturn. l. x.

‡ Mamurra was a Roman knight, and general of the artillery to Cæsar in Gaul; where he raised an immense fortune, and is said to have been the first man in Rome who incrusted his house with marble, and made all his pillars of solid marble. (Plin. Hist. 36. 6.) He was severely lashed, together with Cæsar himself, for his excessive luxury, and more infamous vices, by Catullus; whose verses are still extant, and the same probably that Cicero here refers to, as being first read to Cæsar at his house. Vid. Catull. 27. 55.

The reader perhaps will not readily understand the time and manner of Cæsar's passing from Philip's house to Cicero's in this short account of it: but it must be remembered, that their villas were

A. Urb. 708. Cic. 62. Coss.—Q. Fabius Maximus. C. Trebonius.

" chearful §: the supper was good and well served:

" But our discourse at table, as we eat,
" For taste and seasoning still excell'd our meat *.

" Besides Cæsar's table, his friends were plentifully " provided for in three other rooms; nor was there " any thing wanting to his freedmen of lower rank, " and his slaves; but the better sort were elegantly

were adjoining to each other on the Formian coast, near Cajeta; so that when Cæsar came out of Philip's at one, he took a walk on the shore for about an hour, and then entered into Cicero's; where the bath was prepared for him, and in bathing he heard Catullus's verses; not produced by Cicero, for that would not have been agreeable to good manners, but by some of his own friends, who attended him, and who knew his desire to see every thing that was published against him, as well as his easiness in slighting or forgiving it.

§ The custom of taking a vomit both immediately before and after meals, which Cicero mentions Cæsar to have done on different occasions, (pro. Deiot. 7.) was very common with the Romans, and used by them as an instrument both of their luxury, and of their health: " they vomit," says Seneca, " that they may eat, and eat " that they may vomit. (Consol. ad Helo. 9.) By this evacuation before eating, they were prepared to eat more plentifully; and by emptying themselves presently after it, prevented any hurt from repletion. Thus Vitellius, who was a famous glutton, is said to have preserved his life by constant vomits, while he destroyed all his companions, who did not use the same caution: (Sueton. 12. Dio. 65. 374.) And the practice was thought so effectual for strengthening the constitution, that it was the constant regimen of all the Athletæ; or the professed wrestlers, trained for the public shews, in order to make them more robust. So that Cæsar's vomiting before dinner was a sort of compliment to Cicero, as it intimated a resolution to pass the day chearfully, and to eat and drink freely with him.

* This is a citation from Lucilius, of an hexameter verse, with part of a second, which is not distinguished from the text, in the editions of Cicero's Letters.

Sed bene cocto et condito sermone bono, et si quæris libenter.

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" treated. In a word, I acquitted myself like a man: " yet he is not a guest to whom one would say at part- " ing, pray call upon me again, as you return: once " is enough: we had not a word on business, but ma- " ny on points of literature: in short he was delighted " with his entertainment, and passed the day agree- " ably. He talked of spending one day at Puteoli; " another at Baiæ: thus you see the manner of my " receiving him; somewhat troublesome indeed, but " not uneasy to me. I shall stay here a little longer, " and then to Tusculum. As he passed by Dolabel- " la's villa, his troops marched close by his horse's side, " on the right and left; which was done no where " else. I had this from Nicias †."

On the last of December, when the consul Trebonius was abroad, his colleague Q. Fabius died suddenly; and his death being declared in the morning, C. Caninius Rebilus was named by Cæsar to the vacancy at one in the afternoon; whose office was to continue only through the remaining part of that day. This wanton profanation of the sovereign dignity of the empire raised a general indignation in the city; and a consulate so ridiculous gave birth to much raillery, and many jokes which are transmitted to us by the ancients ‡; of which Cicero, who was the chief author of them, gives us the following specimen, in his own account of the fact.

† Ad Att. 13. 52.
‡ Macrob. Saturn, 2. 3. Dio. p. 236.

A. Urb. 708. Cic. 62. Coss.—Q. Fabius Maximus. C. Trebonius.

CICERO to CURIUS

"I no longer either advise or desire you to come "home to us, but want to fly some whither myself, "where I may hear neither the name nor the acts of "these sons of Pelops. It is incredible how meanly "I think of myself, for being present at these trans-"actions. You had surely an early foresight of what "was coming on, when you ran away from this place: "for though it be vexatious to hear of such things, "yet that is more tolerable than to see them. It is "well that you were not in the field, when at seven "in the morning, as they were proceeding to an e-"lection of quæstors, the chair of Q. Maximus, whom "they called consul *, was set in its place: but, his "death being immediately proclaimed, it was remov-"ed; and Cæsar, though he had taken the auspices "for an assembly of the tribes, changed it to an as-"sembly of the centuries; and, at one in the after-"noon, declared a new consul, who was to govern "till one the next morning. I would have you to "know therefore, that whilst Caninius was consul, no "body dined; and that there was no crime commit-"ted in his consulship, for he was so wonderfully vi-

* Cicero would not allow a consul of three months, so irregularly chosen, to be properly called a consul: nor did the people themselves acknowledge him: for, as Suetonius tells us, [in J. Cæs. 80.] when, upon Fabius's entrance into the theatre, his officers, according to custom, proclaimed his presence, and ordered the people to make way for the consul, the whole assembly cried out, *he is no consul.*

A. Urb. 708. Cic. 62. Coss.—Q. Fabius Maximus. C. Trebonius.

" gilant, that through his whole administration he ne-
" ver slept. These things seem ridiculous to you,
" who were absent, but were you to see them,
" you would hardly refrain from tears. What if I
" should tell you the rest? For there are number-
" less facts of the same kind; which I could never
" have born, if I had not taken refuge in the port of
" Philosophy, with our friend Atticus, the companion
" and partner of my studies, &c. †"

Cæsar had so many creatures and dependents, who expected the honour of the consulship from him, as the reward of their services, that it was impossible to oblige them all in the regular way, so that he was forced to contrive the expedient of splitting it, as it were, into parcels, and conferring it for a few months, or weeks, or even days, as it happened to suit his convenience: and as the thing itself was now but a name, without any real power, it was of little moment for what term it was granted; since the shortest gave the same privilege with the longest, and a man once declared consul, enjoyed ever after the rank and character of a consular senator ‡.

A. Urb. 709. Cic. 63. Coss.—C. Julius Cæsar V. M. Antonius.

ON the opening of the new year, Cæsar entered into his fifth consulship, in partnership with M. Antony: he had promised it all along to Dolabella, but, contra-

† Ep. fam 7. 30.

‡ Vid. Dio. p. 240.

A. Urb. 709. Cic. 63. Coss.—C. Julius Cæsar V. M. Antonius.

ry to expectation, took it at last to himself. This was contrived by Antony, who, jealous of Dolabella, as a rival in Cæsar's favour, had been suggesting somewhat to his disadvantage, and labouring to create a diffidence of him in Cæsar; which seems to have been the ground of what is mentioned above, Cæsar's guarding himself so particularly, when he passed by his villa. Dolabella was sensibly touched with this affront, and came full of indignation to the senate; where, not daring to vent his spleen on Cæsar, he entertained the assembly with a severe speech against Antony, which drew on many warm and angry words between them; till Cæsar, to end the dispute, promised to resign the consulship to Dolabella, before he went to the Parthian war: but Antony protested, that, by his authority as augur, he would disturb that election, whenever it should be attempted *; and declared, without any scruple, that the ground of his quarrel with Dolabella was, for having caught him in an attempt to debauch his wife Antonia, the daughter of his uncle; though that was thought to be a calumny, contrived to colour his divorce with her, and his late marriage with Fulvia, the widow of Clodius †.

* Cum Cæsar ostendisset, se, priusquam proficisceretur, Dolabellam consulem esse jussurum—hic bonus Augur eo se sacerdotio præditum esse dixit, ut comitia auspiciis vel impedire vel vitiare posset, idque se facturum asseveravit. Phil. 2. 32.

† Frequentissimo senatu—hanc tibi esse cum Dolabella causam odii dicere ausus es, quod ab eo sorori et uxori tuæ stuprum oblatum esse comperisses. Phil. 2. 38.

A. Urb. 709. Cic. 63. Coss.—C. Julius Cæsar V. M. Antonius.

Cæsar was now in the height of all his glory, and dressed, as Florus says, in all his trappings, like a victim destined to sacrifice *. He had received from the senate the most extravagant honours, both human and divine, which flattery could invent; "a temple, altar, "priest; his image carried in procession with the gods; "his statue among the kings; one of the months call-"ed after his name, and a perpetual dictatorship †." Cicero endeavoured to restrain the excess of this complaisance within the bounds of reason ‡; but in vain, since Cæsar was more forward to receive, than they to give; and, out of the gaiety of his pride, and to try, as it were, to what length their adulation would reach, when he was actually possessed of every thing which carried with it any real power, was not content still without a title, which could add nothing but envy and popular odium, and wanted to be called a king. Plutarch thinks it a strange instance of folly in the people, to endure with patience all the real effects of kingly government, yet declare such an abhorrence to the name. But the folly was not so strange in the people as it was in Cæsar: it is natural to the multitude to be governed by names, rather than things, and the constant art of parties to keep up that prejudice; but it was unpardonable in so great a man as Cæsar, to lay so much stress on a title which, so far from being an honour to him, seemed to be a diminu-

* Quæ omnia, velut insulæ, in destinatam morti victimam congerebantur. I. 4. 2. 92.

† Flor. ibid. Sueton. J. Cæs. 76.

‡ Plutarch. in Cæs.

A. Urb. 709. Cic. 63. Coss.—C. Julius Cæsar V. M. Antonius.

tion rather of that superior dignity which he already enjoyed.

Among the other compliments that were paid to him, there was a new fraternity of Luperci instituted to his honour, and called by his name, of which Antony was the head. Young Quintus Cicero was one of this society, with the consent of his father, though to the dissatisfaction of his uncle, who considered it not only as a low piece of flattery, but an indecency, for a young man of family to be engaged in ceremonies so immodest, of running naked and frantic about the streets *, The festival was held about the middle of February, and Cæsar, in his triumphal robe, seated himself in the rostra, in a golden chair, to see the diversion of the running, where, in the midst of their sport, the consul Antony, at the head of his naked crew, made him the offer of a regal diadem, and attempted to put it upon his head, at the sight of which a general groan issued from the whole forum, till, upon Cæsar's slight refusal of it, the people loudly testified their joy, by an universal shout. Antony, however, ordered it to be entered in the public acts, that, by the command of the people, he had offered the kingly name and power to Cæsar, and that Cæsar would not accept it †.

* Quintus pater quartum vel potius millesimum nihil sapit, qui lætetur Luperco filio et Statio, ut cernat duplici dedecore cumulatam domum. Ad Att. 12. 5.

† Sedebat in rostris collega tuus, amictus toga purpurea, in sella aurea, coronatus: adscendis, accedis ad sellam—diadema ostendis: gemitus toto foro—tu diadema imponebas cum plangore populi, ille

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While this affair of the kingly title amused and alarmed the city, two of the tribunes, Marullus and Cæsetius, were particularly active in discouraging every step and attempt towards it: they took off the diadem which certain persons had privately put upon Cæsar's statue in the rostra, and committed those to prison who were suspected to have done it; and publicly punished others, for daring to salute him in the streets by the name of king; declaring, that Cæsar himself refused and abhorred that title. This provoked Cæsar beyond his usual temper and command of himself, so that he accused them to the senate of a design to raise a sedition against him, by persuading the city that he really affected to be a king; but when the assembly was going to pass the severest sentence upon them, he was content with deposing them from their magistracy, and expelling them from the senate ‡, which convinced people still the more of his real fondness for a name that he pretended to despise.

He had now prepared all things for his expedition against the Parthians, had sent his legions before him into Macedonia, settled the succession of all the magistrates for two years to come *, appointed Dolabella

ille cum plausu rejiciebat—at enim adscribi jussit in Fastis ad Lupercalia, C. Cæsari, dictatori perpetuo, M. Antonium consulem populi jussu regnum detulisse, Cæsarem uti noluisse. [Phil. 2. 34.] Quod ab eo ita repulsum erat, ut non offensus videretur. Vell. p. 2. 56.

‡ Sueton. J. Cæs. 79. Dio. p. 245. App. l. 2. p. 496. Vell. p. 2. 68.

* Etiamne consules et tribunos plebis in biennium, quos ille voluit? Add Att. 14. 6.

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to take his own place as consul for the current year, named A. Hirtius and C. Pansa for consuls of the next, and D. Brutus and Cn. Plancus for the following year: but, before his departure, he resolved to have the regal title conferred upon him by the senate, who were too sensible of his power, and obsequious to his will, to deny him any thing: and to make it the more palatable at the same time to the people, he caused a report to be industriously propagated through the city, of ancient prophecies found in the Sibylline books, that the Parthians could not be conquered, but by a king; on the strength of which, Cotta, one of the guardians of those books, was to move the senate, at their next meeting, to decree the title of king to him †. Cicero, speaking afterwards of this design, says, "It "was expected that some forged testimonies would be "produced, to shew, that he, whom we had felt in "reality to be a king, should be called also by that "name, if we would be safe: but let us make a bar- "gain with the keepers of those oracles, that they "bring any thing out of them, rather than a king, "which neither the gods nor men will ever endure a- "gain at Rome ‡."

† Proximo autem senatu, L. Cottam quindecemvirum sententiam dicturum; ut quoniam libris fatalibus continetur, Parthos non nisi a rege posse vinci, Cæsar rex appellaretur. Sueton. c. 79. Dio. p. 247.

‡ Quorum interpres nuper falsa quædam hominum fama dicturus in senatu putabatur, eum, quem re vera regem habebamus, appellandum quoque esse regem, si salvi esse vellemus—cum antistibus agamus, ut quidvis potius ex illis libris, quam regem proferant, quem Romæ posthac nec Dii nec homines esse patientur. De Divin. 2. 54.

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One would naturally have expected, after all the fatigues and dangers through which Cæsar had made his way to empire, that he would have chosen to spend the remainder of a declining life in the quiet enjoyment of all the honours and pleasures which absolute power, and a command of the world, could bestow: but, in the midst of all this glory, he was a stranger still to ease: he saw the people generally disaffected to him, and impatient under his government; and, though amused a while, with the splendour of his shews and triumphs, yet regreting severely, in cool blood, the price that they had paid for them, the loss of their liberty, with the lives of the best and noblest of their fellow citizens. This expedition, therefore, against the Parthians, seems to have been a political pretext for removing himself from the murmurs of the city, and leaving to his ministers the exercise of an invidious power, and the task of taming the spirits of the populace, whilst he, by employing himself in gathering fresh laurels in the East, and extending the bounds, and retrieving the honour of the empire, against its most dreaded enemy, might gradually reconcile them to a reign that was gentle and clement at home, successful and glorious abroad.

But his impatience to be a king defeated all his projects, and accelerated his fate, and pushed on the nobles, who had conspired against his life, to the immediate execution of their plot, that they might save themselves the shame of being forced to concur in an act which they heartily detested *: and the two Bru-

* Quæ causa conjuratis fuit maturandi destinata negotia, ne assentiri necesse esset. Suet. J. Cæs. 80. Dio. p. 247.

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tus's in particular, the honour of whose house was founded in the extirpation of kingly government, could not but consider it as a personal infamy, and a disgrace to their very name, to suffer the restoration of it.

There were above *sixty* persons said to be engaged in this conspiracy †, the greatest part of them of the senatorian rank; but M. Brutus and C. Cassius were the chief in credit and authority, the first contrivers and movers of the whole design.

M. JUNIUS BRUTUS was about one and forty years old, of the most illustrious family of the republic, deriving his name and descent in a direct line from that first consul, L. Brutus, who expelled Tarquin, and gave freedom to the Roman people *. Having lost his father when very young, he was trained with great

† Conspiratum est in eum a sexaginta amplius, C. Cassio, Marcoque et Decimo Bruto principibus conspirationis. Suet. 18.

* Some of the ancient writers call in question this account of Brutus's descent; particularly Dionysius of Halicarnassus, the most judicious and critical of them, who alleges several arguments against it, which seem to be very plausible. Yet, while Brutus lived, it was universally allowed to him. Cicero mentions it in his public speeches, and other writings, as a fact that nobody doubted; and often speaks of the *image of old Brutus*, which Marcus kept in his house among those of his ancestors: And Atticus, who was peculiarly curious in the antiquities of the Roman families, drew up *Brutus's genealogy* for him, and deduced his succession from that old hero, in a direct line through all the intermediate ages from father to son. Corn. Nep. Vit. Att. 18. Tusc. Disp. 4. 1.

He was born in the consulship of L. Cornelius Cinna III. and Cn. Papirius Carbo A. U. 668. which fully confutes the vulgar story of his being commonly believed to be *Cæsar's son*; since he was but fifteen years younger than Cæsar himself, whose familiarity with his mother, Servilia, cannot be supposed to have commenced till many years after Brutus was born; or, not till Cæsar had lost

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care, by his uncle Cato, in all the studies of polite letters, especially of eloquence and philosophy, and, under the discipline of such a tutor, imbibed a warm love for liberty and virtue. He had excellent parts, and equal industry, and acquired an early fame at the bar, where he pleaded several causes of great importance, and was esteemed the most eloquent and learned of all the young nobles of his age. His manner of speaking was correct, elegant, judicious, yet wanting that force and copiousness which is required in a consummate orator. But philosophy was his favourite study, in which, though he professed himself of the more moderate sect of the old academy, yet, from a certain pride and gravity of temper, he affected the severity of the Stoic, and to imitate his uncle Cato, to which he was wholly unequal; for he was of a mild, merciful, and compassionate disposition, averse to every thing cruel, and was often forced, by the tenderness of his nature, to confute the rigour of his principles. While his mother lived in the greatest familiarity with Cæsar, he was constantly attached to the opposite party, and firm to the interests of liberty; for the sake of which he followed Pompey whom he hated, and acted on that side with a distinguished zeal. At the battle of Pharsalia, Cæsar gave particular orders to find out and preserve Brutus, being desirous to draw him from the pursuit of a cause that was likely to prove fatal to him; so that,

his first wife Cornelia, whom he married when he was very young, and always tenderly loved; and whose *funeral oration* he made when he was *Quæstor*, and consequently *thirty years old*. Vid. Sueton. J. Cæs. c. 1, 6, 50. It. Brut. p. 343. 447. & Corradi notis.

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when Cato, with the rest of the chiefs, went to renew the war in Afric, he was induced, by Cæsar's generosity and his mother's prayers, to lay down his arms, and return to Italy. Cæsar endeavoured to oblige him by all the honours which his power could bestow; but the indignity of receiving from a master, what he ought to have received from a free people, shocked him much more than any honours could oblige; and the ruin, in which he saw his friends involved by Cæsar's usurped dominion, gave him a disgust which no favours could compensate. He observed, therefore, a distance and reserve through Cæsar's reign; aspired to no share of his confidence, or part in his counsels, and, by the uncourtly vehemence with which he defended the rights of King Deiotarus, convinced Cæsar, that he could never be obliged where he did not find himself free. He cultivated all the while the strictest friendship with Cicero, whose principles, he knew, were utterly averse to the measures of the times; and in whose free conversation he used to mingle his own complaints on the unhappy state of the republic, and the wretched hands into which it was fallen, till, animated by these conferences, and confirmed by the general discontent of all the honest, he formed the bold design of freeing his country by the destruction of Cæsar. He had publicly defended Milo's act of killing Clodius, by a maxim, which he maintained to be universally true, "that "those who live in defiance of the laws, and cannot "be brought to a trial, ought to be taken off without "a trial." The case was applicable to Cæsar in a much higher degree than to Clodius, whose power had placed

him above the reach of the law, and left no way of punishing him but by an assassination. This therefore was Brutus's motive; and Antony did him the justice to say, that he "was the only one of the conspiracy, who entered into it out of principle; that "the rest, from private malice, rose up against the man, "he alone against the tyrant †."

C. CASSIUS was descended likewise from a family not less honourable or ancient, nor less zealous for the public liberty, than Brutus's: whose ancestor, Sp. Cassius, after a triumph and three consulships, is said to have been condemned, and put to death by his own father, for aiming at a dominion. He shewed a remarkable instance, when a boy, of his high spirit and love of liberty; for he gave Sylla's son, Faustus, a box on the ear, for bragging among his school-fellows of his father's greatness and absolute power; and, when Pompey called the boys before him, to give an account of their quarrel, he declared in his presence, that if Faustus should dare to repeat the words, he would

† Natura admirabilis, & exquisita doctrina, & singularis industria. Cum enim in maximis causis versatus esses. [Brut. 26.] Quo magis tuum, Brute, judicium probo, qui eorum, id est, *ex vetere academia*, philosophorum sectam secutus es, quorum in doctrina & præceptis disserendi ratio conjungitur cum suavitate dicendi & copia. [Brut. 219.] Nam cum inambularem in Xysto—M. ad me Brutus, ut consueverat, cum T. Pomponio venerat. [Brut. 15.] Tum Brutus—itaque doleo & illius consilio & tua voce populum Rom. carere tamdiu. Quod cum per se dolendum est, tum multo magis consideranti, ad quos ista non translata sint, sed nescio quo pacto devenerint. [Brut. 269.]

Ἀλλ' Ἀντωνίου γε καὶ πολλοὺς ἀκοῦσαι λέγοντος, ὡς μόνον οἴοιτο Βροῦτον ἐπιθέσθαι Καίσαρι, πρυαχθέντα τῇ λαμπρότητι καὶ τῷ φαινομένῳ καλῷ τῆς πράξεως. Vid. Plut. in Brut. p. 997. it. App. p. 498.

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repeat the blow. He was quæstor to Crassus, in the Parthian war, where he greatly signalized both his courage and skill; and if Crassus had followed his advice, would have preserved the whole army; but, after their miserable defeat, he made good his retreat into Syria with the remains of the broken legions: and when the Parthians, flushed with success, pursued him thither soon after, and blocked him up in Antioch, he preserved that city and province from falling into their hands; and, watching his opportunity, gained a considerable victory over them, with the destruction of their general. In the civil war, after the battle of Pharsalia, he sailed with seventy ships to the coast of Asia, to raise fresh forces in that country, and renew the war against Cæsar; but, as the historians tell us, happening to meet with Cæsar crossing the Hellespont, in a common passage-boat, instead of destroying him, as he might have done, he was so terrified by the sight of the conqueror, that he begged his life in an abject manner, and delivered up his fleet to him. But Cicero gives us a hint of a quite different story, which is much more probable, and worthy of Cassius; that having got intelligence where Cæsar designed to land, he lay in wait for him, in a bay of Cilicia, at the mouth of the river Cydnus, with a resolution to destroy him; but Cæsar happened to land on the opposite shore before he was aware; so that seeing his project blasted, and Cæsar secured in a country where all people were declaring for him, he thought it best to make his own peace too, by going over to him with his fleet. He married Tertia, the sister of Brutus; and though

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differing in temper and philosophy, was strictly united with him in friendship and politics; and the constant partner of all his counsels. He was brave, witty, learned; yet passionate, fierce, and cruel; so that Brutus was the more amiable friend, he the more dangerous enemy: in his later years he deserted the stoics, and became a convert to Epicurus; whose doctrine he thought more natural and reasonable; constantly maintaining, that the pleasure which their master recommended, was to be found only in the habitual practice of justice and virtue; while he professed himself therefore an Epicurean, he lived like a Stoic; was moderate in pleasures, temperate in diet, and a water-drinker through life. He attached himself very early to the observance of Cicero; as all the young nobles did, who had any thing great or laudable in view: this friendship was confirmed by a conformity of their sentiments in the civil war, and in Cæsar's reign; during which, several letters passed between them, written with a freedom and familiarity which is to be found only in the most intimate correspondence. In these letters, though Cicero rallies his Epicurism and change of principles, yet he allows him to have acted always with the greatest honour and integrity; and pleasantly says, "that he should begin to think "that sect to have more nerves than he imagined, "since Cassius had embraced it." The old writers assign several frivolous reasons of disgust, as the motives of his killing Cæsar:—that Cæsar took a number of lions from him, which he had provided for a public shew; that he would not give him the consulship;

that he gave Brutus the more honourable prætorship in preference to him. But we need not look farther for the true motive than to his temper and principles: for his nature was singularly impetuous and violent; impatient of contradiction, and much more of subjection; and passionately fond of glory, virtue, liberty: it was from these qualities, that Cæsar apprehended his danger; and, when admonished to beware of Antony and Dolabella, used to say, that "it was not the gay, "the curled, and the jovial, whom he had cause to "fear, but the thoughtful, the pale, and the lean,"—meaning Brutus and Cassius *.

* C. Cassius in ea familia natus, quæ non modo dominatum, sed ne potentiam quidem cujusquam ferre potuit. [Phil. 2. 11.] Quem ubi primum magistratu abiit, damnatumque constat. Sunt qui patrem actorem ejus supplicii ferant. Eum cognita domi causa verberasse ac necasse, peculiumque filii Cereri consecravisse. [Liv. 2. 41.] Cujus filium, Faustum, C. Cassius condiscipulum suum in schola, proscriptionem paternam laudantem—colapho percussit. [Val. Max. 3. 1. vid. Plutar. in Brut.] Reliquias legionum C. Cassius, quæstor conservavit, Syriamque adeo in populi Romani potestate retinuit, ut trangressos in eum Parthos, felici rerum eventu fugaret ac funderet, [Vell. Pat. 2. 46. it Phil. xi. 14.] οὐδὲ ἔργον ἕτερον ἡγοῦμαι τύχης ἐν ἀπόδῳ καιρῷ γενέσθαι μᾶλλον, ἢ Χάσσιον τὸν πολεμικώτατον ἐπὶ τριηρῶν ἑβδομήκοντα ἀπαρασκεύῳ Χαίσαρι συντυκόντα, μηδ' ἐς χεῖρας ἐγθεῖν ὑποσῆναι, ὁ δ' οὕτως ἑαυτὸν αἰσχρῶς ὑπὸ φόβου μόνου παραπλέοντι παραδοὺς, ὕστερον ἐν Ῥώμῃ δυναστεύοντα ἤδη κατέκτανεν. [App. 2. 483. it. Dio. l. 42. 188. Sueton. J. Cæs. 63.] C. Cassius—sine his clarissimis viris hanc rem in Cilicia ad ostium fluminis Cydni confecisset, si ille ad eam ripam, quam constituerat, non ad contrariam naves appulisset. [Phil. 2. 11.] e quibus Brutum amicum habere malles inimicum magis timeres Cassium. [Vell. P. 2. 72.] ἡδονὴν vero et ἀταραξίαν virtute, justitia, τῷ καλῷ parari, et verum et probabile est. Ipse enim Epicurus—dicit. οὐκ ἐστὶν ἡδέως ἄνευ τοῦ καλῶς καὶ δικαίως, ζῆν. [Ep. Fam. 15. 19.] Cassius tota vita aquam bibit. [Senec. 547.] Quanquam quicum loquor? cum uno fortissimo viro; qui postea quam forum attigisti, nihil fecisti nisi plenissimum

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The next in authority to Brutus and Cassius, though very different from them in character, were DECIMUS BRUTUS, and C. TREBONIUS: they had both been constantly devoted to Cæsar; and were singularly favoured, advanced, and entrusted by him in all his wars; so that, when Cæsar marched first into Spain, he left them to command the siege of Marseilles, Brutus by sea, Trebonius by land; in which they acquitted themselves with the greatest courage and ability, and reduced that strong place to the necessity of surrendering at discretion. Decimus was of the same family with his namesake Marcus; and Cæsar, as if jealous of a name that inspired an aversion to kings, was particularly solicitous to gain them both to his interest; and seemed to have succeeded to his wish in Decimus; who forwardly embraced his friendship, and accepted all his favours; being named by him to the command of Cisalpine Gaul, and to the consulship of the following year, and the second heir even of his estate, in failure of the first. He seems to have had no peculiar character of virtue, or patriotism, nor any correspondence with Cicero, before the act of killing Cæsar; so that people, instead of expecting it from him, were surprised at his doing it; yet he was brave, generous, magnificent, and lived with great splendour, in the enjoyment of an immense fortune; for he kept a numerous band of gladiators at his own expence, for

plenissimum amplissimæ dignitatis. In ista ipsa αἰφνίδιοι metuo ne plus nervorum sit, quam ego putarim, si modo eam tu probas. [Ep. fam. 15. 16.] Differendo consulatum Cassium offenderat. [Vell. P. 2. 56. it. Plut. in Brut. App. 408.]

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the diversion of the city; and, after Cæsar's death, spent about four hundred thousand pounds of his own money, in maintaining an army against Antony *.

Trebonius had no family to boast of, but was wholly a new man, and the creature of Cæsar's power, who promoted him through all the honours of the state, to his late consulship of three months: Antony calls him the son of a buffoon; but Cicero, of a splendid knight: he was a man of parts, prudence, integrity, humanity; was conversant also in the politer arts, and had a peculiar turn to wit and humour; for, after Cæsar's death, he published a volume of Cicero's sayings, which he had taken the pains to collect; upon which Cicero compliments him, for having explained them with great elegance, and given them a fresh force and beauty, by his humorous manner of introducing them. As the historians have not suggested any reason that should move either him or Decimus to the resolution of killing a man, to whom they were infinitely obliged; so we may reasonably impute it, as Cicero does, to a greatness of soul, and superior love of their country, which made them prefer the liberty of Romē to

* Adjectis etiam consiliariis cœdis, familiarissimis omnium, et fortuna partium ejus in summum evictis fastigium, D. Bruto et C. Trebonio, aliisque clari nominis viris. [Vell. P. 2. 56.] Plurisque percursorum in tutoribus filii nominavit: Decimum Brutum etiam in secundis heredibus. [Sueton. J. Cæs. 83.] Vid. Cæs. Comm. de Bell. civil. l. 2. Plut. in Brut. App. p. 497, 518. Dio. l. 44. 247. &c. D. Brutus—cum Cæsaris primus omnium amicorum fuisset, interfector fuit. Vell. P. 2. 64.

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the friendship of any man; and chuse rather to be the destroyers, than the partners of a tyranny †.

The rest of the conspirators were partly young men of noble blood, eager to revenge the ruin of their fortunes and families; partly men obscure, and unknown to the public ‡; yet whose fidelity and courage had been approved by Brutus and Cassius. It was agreed by them all in council, to execute their design in the senate, which was summoned to meet on the Ides, or fifteenth of March: they knew that the senate would applaud it when done, and even assist, if there was occasion, in the doing it §; and there was a circumstance, which peculiarly encouraged them, and seemed to be even ominous; that it happened to be Pompey's senate-house, in which their attempt was to be made; and where Cæsar would consequently fall at the foot of Pompey's statue, as a just sacrifice to the manes of that great man ‖. They took it also for

† Scurræ filium appellat Antonius. Quasi vero ignotus nobis fuerit splendidus Eques Romanus Trebonii pater. [Phil. 13. 10.] Trebonii—consilium, ingenium, humanitatem, innocentiam, magnitudinem, animi in patria liberanda quis ignorat? [Phil. xi. 4.] liber iste, quem mihi misisti, quantam habet declarationem amoris tui? primum, quod tibi facetum videtur quicquid ego dixi, quod aliis fortasse non item: deinde, quod illa, sive faceta sunt, sive sic fiunt narrante te venustissima. Quin etiam antequam ad me veniatur, risus omnis pæne consumitur, &c. [Ep. fam. 15. 21. it. 12. 16.] Qui libertatem populi Romani unius amicitiæ præposuit, depulsorque dominatus, quam particeps esse maluit. Phil. 2. 11.

‡ In tot hominibus, partim obscuris, partim adolescentibus, &c. Phil. 2. 11.

§ ὡς τῶν βυλευτῶν, εἰ καὶ μὴ προμάθοιεν, προθύμως, ὅτι δοκοίη τὸ ἔργον, συνεπιλημψομένων. App. 499.

‖ Postquam senatus idibus Martiis in Pompeii curiam edictus est, facile tempus et locum prætulerunt. Sueton. 80.

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granted, that the city would be generally on their side; yet, for their greater security, D. Brutus gave orders to arm his gladiators that morning, as if for some public shew, that they might be ready, on the first notice, to secure the avenues of the senate, and defend them from any sudden violence; and Pompey's theatre, which adjoined to his senate-house, being the properest place for the exercise of the gladiators, would cover all suspicion that might otherwise arise from them. The only deliberation that perplexed them, and on which they were much divided, was, whether they should not kill Antony also, and Lepidus, together with Cæsar; especially Antony; the more ambitious of the two, and the more likely to create fresh danger to the commonwealth. Cassius, with a majority of the company, was warmly for killing him: but the two Brutus's as warmly opposed, and finally over-ruled it: they alleged, "that to shed "more blood than was necessary, would disgrace their "cause, and draw upon them an imputation of cruel-"ty; and of acting, not as patriots, but the partisans "of Pompey; not so much to free the city, as to re-"venge themselves on their enemies, and get the domi-"nion of it into their hands." But what weighed with them the most, was a vain persuasion, that Antony would be tractable, and easily reconciled, as soon as the affair was over: but this lenity proved their ruin; and by leaving their work imperfect, defeated all the benefit of it; as we find Cicero afterwards often reproaching them in his letters *.

* Plutar. in Cæs. App. 2. 499, 592. Dio. 247, 248. Quam vel-

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Many prodigies are mentioned by the historians to have given warning of Cæsar's death †: which having been forged by some, and credulously received by others, were copied, as usual, by all, to strike the imagination of their readers, and raise an awful attention to an event, in which the gods were supposed to be interested. Cicero has related one of the most remarkable of them; "that as Cæsar was sacrificing a "little before his death, with great pomp and splen-"dour, in his triumphal robes and golden chair, the "victim, which was a fat ox, was found to be without "a heart: and when Cæsar seemed to be shocked at "it, Spurinna, the Haruspex, admonished him to be-"ware, lest, through a failure of counsel, his life should "be cut off, since the heart was the seat and source of "them both. The next day he sacrificed again, in "hopes to find the entrails more propitious; but the "liver of the bullock appeared to want it's head, "which was reckoned also among the direful omens ‡."

lem ad illas pulcherrimas epulas me Idibus Martiis invitasses. Reliquiarum nihil haberemus. Ep. fam. x. 28. 12. 4. ad Brut. 2. 7.

† Sed Cæsari futura cædes evidentibus prodigiis denunciata est, &c. Sueton. 81. Plut. in vit.

‡ De Divin. 1. 52. 2. 16. These cases of victims found sometimes *without a heart or liver*, gave rise to a curious question among those who believed the reality of this kind of *divination*, as the *Stoics* generally did, how to account for the cause of so strange a phænomenon. The common solution was, that the gods made such changes instantaneously, in the moment of sacrificing, by annihilating or altering the condition of the entrails, so as to make it correspond with the circumstances of the sacrificer, and the admonition which they intended to give. (De Div. ibid.) But this was laughed at by the naturalists, as wholly unphilosophical, who thought it absurd to imagine, that the Deity could either annihilate, or create; either reduce any thing to nothing, or form any thing out of no-

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These facts, though ridiculed by Cicero, were publicly affirmed and believed at the time; and seem to have raised a general rumour through the city, of some secret danger that threatened Cæsar's life; so that his friends being alarmed at it, were endeavouring to instill the same apprehension into Cæsar himself; and had succeeded so far, as to shake his resolution of going that day to the senate, when it was actually assembled by his summons in Pompey's senate-house; till D. Brutus, by rallying those fears, as unmanly and unworthy of him, and alleging, that his absence would be interpreted as an affront to the assembly, drew him out against his will, to meet his destined fate *.

In the morning of the fatal day, M. Brutus and C. Cassius appeared, according to custom, in the forum, sitting in their prætorian tribunals, to hear and determine causes; where, though they had daggers under their gowns, they sat with the same calmness, as if they had nothing upon their minds; till the news of Cæsar's coming out to the senate, called them away to the performance of their part in the tragical act; which they executed at last with such resolution, that, through the eagerness of stabbing Cæsar, they wounded even one another †.

thing. What seems the most probable, is, that if the facts really happened, they were contrived by Cæsar's friends, and the heart conveyed away by some artifice, to give them a better pretence of enforcing their admonitions, and putting Cæsar upon his guard against dangers, which they really apprehended, from quite different reasons than the pretended denunciations of the gods.

* Plutar. in J. Cæs.

† Ib. in Brut. App. 2. 505.

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Thus fell Cæsar, on the celebrated Ides of March; after he had advanced himself to a height of power, which no conqueror had ever attained before him; though, to raise the mighty fabric, he had made more desolation in the world than any man, perhaps, who ever lived in it. He used to say, that his conquests in Gaul had cost about a million and two hundred thousand lives ‡; and if we add the civil wars to the account, they could not cost the republic much less, in the more valuable blood of its best citizens: yet when, through a perpetual course of faction, violence, rapine, slaughter, he had made his way at last to empire, he did not enjoy the quiet possession of it above five months *.

He was endowed with every great and noble quality, that could exalt human nature, and give a man the ascendant in society: formed to excel in peace, as well as war; provident in counsel; fearless in action; and executing what he had resolved with an amazing celerity: generous beyond measure to his friends; placable to his enemies; and for parts, learning, eloquence, scarce inferior to any man. His orations were admired for two qualities, which are seldom found together, strength and elegance: Cicero ranks him among the greatest orators that Rome ever bred: and Quintilian says, "that he spoke with the same force

‡ Undecies centena et nonaginta duo hominum millia occisa præliis ab eo—quod ita esse confessus est ipse, bellorum civilium stragem non prodendo. Plin. Hist. 7. 25.

* Neque illi tanto viro—plusquam quinque mensium principalis quies contigit—Vell. Pat. 2. 56.

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" with which he fought; and if he had devoted him-
" self to the bar, would have been the only man ca-
" pable of rivalling Cicero." Nor was he a master only of the politer arts; but conversant also with the most abstruse and critical parts of learning; and among other works which he published, addressed two books to Cicero, on the analogy of language, or the art of speaking and writing correctly †. He was a most liberal patron of wit and learning, wheresoever they were found; and, out of his love of those talents, would readily pardon those who had employed them against himself; rightly judging, that, by making such men his friends, he should draw praises from the same fountain from which he had been aspersed. His capital passions were, ambition and love of pleasure, which he indulged in their turns to the greatest excess; yet the first was always predominant, to which he could easily sacrifice all the charms of the second, and draw pleasure even from toils and dangers, when they ministered to his glory. For he thought tyranny, as Cicero says, the greatest of goddesses; and had frequently in his mouth a verse of Euripides, which expressed the image of his soul, " that, if right and justice were
" ever to be violated, they were to be violated for the
" sake of reigning." This was the chief end and purpose of his life; the scheme that he had formed from

† It was in the dedication of this piece to Cicero, that Cæsar paid him the compliment, which Pliny mentions, of his having " acquired a laurel, superior to that of all triumphs, as it was more " glorious to extend the bounds of the Roman wit, than of their " empire." Hist. N. 7. 30.

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his early youth; so that, as Cato truly declared of him, "he came with sobriety and meditation to the subversion of the republic." He used to say, "that there were two things necessary to acquire and to support power, soldiers and money," which yet depended mutually on each other: With money, therefore, he provided soldiers, and with soldiers extorted money; and was of all men the most rapacious in plundering both friends and foes, sparing neither prince nor state, nor temple, nor even private persons, who were known to possess any share of treasure. His great abilities would necessarily have made him one of the first citizens of Rome; but, disdaining the condition of a subject, he could never rest till he had made himself *a monarch*. In acting this last part, his usual prudence seemed to fail him, as if the height, to which he was mounted, had turned his head, and made him giddy; for, by a vain ostentation of his power, he destroyed the stability of it; and, as men shorten life by living too fast, so, by an intemperance of reigning, he brought his reign to a violent end *.

* De Cæsare et ipse ita judico—illum omnium fere oratorum Latinè loqui elegantissime—et id—multis literis, et iis quidem reconditis et exquisitis, summoque studio ac diligentia est consecutus.—[Brut. 370.] C. vero Cæsar si foro tantum vacasset, non alius ex nostris contra Ciceronem nominaretur, tanta in eo vis est, id acumen, ea concitatio, ut illum eodem animo dixisse, quo bellavit, appareat. [Quintil. x. 1.] C. Cæsar, in libris, quos ad M. Ciceronem de analogia conscripsit. [A. Gell. 19. 8.] Quin etiam in maximis occupationibus cum ad te ipsum, inquit, de ratione Latine loquendi accuratissime scripserit. [Brut. 370. vid. it. Sueton. 56.] In Cæsare hæc sunt, mitis, clemensque natura—accedit, quod mirifice ingeniis excellentibus, quale tuum est, delectatur—eodem fonte

It was a common question after his death, and proposed as a problem by Livy, "Whether it was of service to the republic, that he had ever been born *?" The question did not turn on the simple merit of his acts, for that would bear no dispute, but on the accidental effects of them, their producing the settlement under Augustus, and the benefits of that government, which was the consequence of his tyranny. Suetonius, who treats the characters of the Cæsars with that freedom which the happy reigns in which he lived indulged, upon balancing the exact sum of his virtues and vices, declares him, on the whole, to have been justly killed †; which appears to have been the general sense of the best, the wisest, and the most disinterested at Rome, at the time when the fact was committed.

The only question which seemed to admit any dispute was, whether it ought to have been committed

te se hausturum intelligit laudes suas, e quo sit leviter aspersus.—[Ep. fam. 6. 6.] τὴν θεῶν μεγίστην ὥστ' ἔχειν τυραννίδα. [Ad Att. 7. 11.] Ipse autem in ore semper Græcos versus de Phœnissis habebat—

Nam si violandum est jus, regnandi gratia
Violandum est: aliis rebus pietatem colas.

[Offic. 3. 21.]

Cato dixit, C. Cæsarem ad evertendam rempublicam, sobrium accessisse. [Quintil. l. 8. 2.] Abstinentiam neque in imperiis neque in magistratibus præstitit—in Gallia fana, templaque deum donis referta expilavit: Urbes diruit, sæpius ob prædam quam delictum—evidentissimis rapinis, ac sacrilegiis onera bellorum civilium—sustinuit. [Sueton. c. 54. Vid. it. Dio. p. 208.]

* Vid. Senec. Natur. Quæst. l. 5. 18. p. 766.

† Prægravant tamen cætera facta, dictaque ejus, ut et abusus dominatione et jure cæsus existimetur. Sueton. c. 76.

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by those who were the leaders in it ‡, some of whom owed their lives to Cæsar, and others had been loaded by him with honours to a degree that helped to increase the popular odium, particularly D. Brutus, who was the most cherished by him of them all, and left by his will the second heir of his estate *? For, of the two Brutus's, it was not Marcus, as it is commonly imagined, but Decimus, who was the favourite, and whose part in the conspiracy surprised people the most †. But this circumstance served only for a different handle to the different parties, for aggravating either their crime or their merit. Cæsar's friends charged them with base ingratitude, for killing their benefactor, and abusing the power which he had given, to the destruction of the giver. The other side gave a contrary turn to it, extolled the greater virtues of the men, for not being diverted by private considerations, from doing an act of public benefit. Cicero takes it always in this view, and says, "That the republic was the more indebted to them, "for preferring the common good, to the friendship "of any man whatsoever; that as to the kindness of "giving them their lives, it was the kindness only of "a robber, who had first done them the greater wrong, "by usurping the power to take it; that, if there had "been any stain of ingratitude in the fact, they could "never have acquired so much glory by it; and

‡ Disputare de M. Bruto solet, an debuerit accipere a D. Julio vitam, cum occidendum eum judicaret. Senec. de Benef. l. 2. 2c.

* Appian. 2. 518.

† Etsi est enim Brutorum commune factum et laudis societas eo tamen, Decimo tamen iratiores erant omnes ii, qui id factum dolebant, quo minus ab eo rem illam dicebant fieri decuisse. Philip. x. 7.

A. Urb. 709. Cic. 63. Cos.—C. Julius Cæsar V. M. Antonius.

"though he wondered indeed at some of them for "doing it, rather than ever imagined that they would "have done it, yet he admired them so much the "more for being regardless of favours, that they might "shew their regard to their country ‡."

Some of Cæsar's friends, particularly Pansa and Hirtius, advised him always to keep a standing guard of prætorian troops, for the defence of his person; alledging, that a power acquired by arms must necessarily be maintained by arms: but his common answer was, "that he had rather die once by treachery, "than live always in fear of it *." He used to laugh at Sylla for restoring the liberty of the republic; and to say in contempt of him, "that he did not know his "letters †." But, as a judicious writer has observed, "Sylla had learnt a better grammar than he; which "taught him to resign his guards, and his government "together: whereas Cæsar, by dismissing the one, yet "retaining the other, committed a dangerous solecism "in politics ‡;" for he strengthened the popular odium,

‡ Quod est aliud beneficium—latronum, nisi ut commemorare possint, iis se dedisse vitam, quibus non ademerint? quod si esset beneficium, nunquam ii qui illum interfecerunt, a quo erant servati,—tantam essent gloriam consecuti. Phil. 2. 3.

Quo etiam majorem ei respub. gratiam debet, qui libertatem populi Romani unius amicitiæ præposuit, depulsorque dominatus quam particeps esse maluit—admiratus sum ob eam causam, quod immemor beneficiorum, memor patriæ fuisset.—ib. 11.

* Laudandum experientiâ consilium est Pansæ atque Hirtii: qui semper prædixerant Cæsari, ut principatum armis quæsitum armis teneret. Ille dictitans, mori se quam timere malle. Vel. p. 2. 57.

Insidias undique imminentes subire semel confessum satis esse, quam cavere semper. Sueton. c. 86.

† Nec minoris impotentiæ voces propalam edebat—Syllam nescisse literas, qui dictaturam deposuerit. Sueton. 77.

‡ Vid. Sir H. Saville's Dissertat. de *Militia Rom.* at the end of his translation of Tacitus.

A. Urb. 709. Cic. 63. Cos.—C. Julius Cæsar V. M. Antonius.

and consequently his own danger, while he weakened his defence.

He made several good laws during his administration, all tending to enforce the public discipline, and extend the penalties of former laws. The most considerable, as well as the most useful of them was, that no prætor should hold any province more than one year, nor a consul more than two §. This was a regulation that had often been wished for, as Cicero says, in the best of times; and what one of the ablest dictators of the republic had declared to be its chief security, not to suffer great and arbitrary commands to be of long duration; but to limit them at least in time, if it was not convenient to limit them in power*. Cæsar knew by experience, that the prolongation of these extraordinary commands, and the habit of ruling kingdoms, was the readiest way, not only to inspire a contempt of the laws, but to give a man the power to subvert them; and he hoped therefore by this law, to prevent any other man from doing what he himself had done, and to secure his own possession from the attempts of all future invaders.

§ Phil. 1. 8. Sueton. J. Cæs. 42, 43.

* Quæ lex melior, utilior, optima etiam repub. sæpius flagitata, quam ne prætoriæ provinciæ plus quam annum, neve plus quam biennium consulares obtinerentur?—Phil. 1. 8.

Mamercus Æmilius—maximam autem, ait, ejus custodiam esse, si magna imperia diuturna non essent, et temporis modus imponeretur, quibus juris imponi non posset. Liv. l. 4. 24.

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

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